THE NEXUS OF DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE IN SEA TURTLE TOURISM AND CONSERVATION AT LANIĀKEA BEACH, HAWAIʻI

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the discursive practices emerging in the overlapping contexts of sea turtle tourism and conservation at Laniākea Beach, Hawai‘i which serve to produce the local activities, linguistic practices, and intercultural relations between international tourists and conservation volunteers around sea turtles at this beach. By examining tourist-volunteer interaction, volunteers' training to use an educational discourse of sea turtle outreach, and interviews with volunteers, tourists and other stakeholders in the community, I ask how the wider discourses of sea turtle tourism and conservation converge at this beach to produce the actions and identities people construct around endangered wildlife like sea turtles. Using nexus analysis as an ethnographic sociolinguistic approach to discourse analysis, I investigate what exactly happens in situ in volunteer-tourist interaction as a key site to understand how intercultural identities of inclusion and exclusion and community membership in relation to sea turtles are produced. I take up this investigation primarily from the perspective of honu guardians, or sea turtle conservation volunteers, as they work to carry out their sea turtle educational and protection efforts at Laniākea Beach. But I also examine how tourists move through, interact with and talk about sea turtles as well in this beachspace, as the volunteer efforts to protect sea turtles at this beach only emerged in parallel with a growing sea turtle tourism industry promoting Laniākea Beach as a popular tourist destination. Here, I trace how honu guardians and turtle tourists circulate conservation and tourism discourses through their embodied, interactional and digital practices at this beach to explore the hybrid and creative discursive practices emerging at this sea turtle tourism-conservation nexus. Ultimately, the aim of this dissertation is to address the emerging 'posthumanist' question of how people are becoming caught up with animals and nature through their semiotic practices, and what new discourses and intercultural relations are emerging as a result, particularly in an era when there is a heightened awareness of cultural differences and sameness in regard to human relations with the natural world. Overall, then, my research adds to a growing body of work in ecolinguistics on the discursive representations of animals and nature, and in sociolinguistics on the discursive practices of intercultural communication in the contexts of wildlife conservation and international ecotourism.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

[	overlapping utterances
=	connects ‘latched’ utterances
(.)	indicates a pause that is less than 0.1 second
(0.2)	indicates a pause that is timed
:	marks an extension of the sound it follows
::	marks a longer extension
↑ ↓	marks rising (upward) and falling (downward) intonations
°speech°	indicates decreased volume of materials or softer speech
word	indicates emphasis
WORD	indicates speech that louder than the surrounding talk
hehehe	indicates laughter
(word)	unclear speech
((text))	embodied actions and/or analyst commentary
-	sharp cut-off of an utterance
.	a stopping or a fall in tone
,	continuing contour
?	a rising inflection
>speech<	faster speech
<speech>	slower speech
italics	non English words (Hawaiian, Japanese, Pidgin)
‘speech’	talk produced as constructed speech
{word}	lexical item or phrase that co-occurs with video screen-capture

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

"Hey! Give the *honu* space!" I hear someone shout from behind me and the throng of other tourists on the beach. The warning comes from a volunteer sea turtle protector, or a "honu guardian," (honu is the Hawaiian word for green sea turtle). This warning is directed towards several teenage tourists clad with snorkel gear and go-pro cameras attached to selfie sticks, orbiting around and reaching out to touch the sea turtles that swim past them. The man yelling at them is wearing a light blue t-shirt, a dark blue hat, and an official looking badge, all items adorned with an illustrated logo of a sea turtle, and the name of the non-profit organization he volunteers for, *Mālama na Honu*, meaning 'care for the sea turtles' in Hawaiian. He wades into the nearshore waters towards the tourists to intervene: "You're harassing the honu, give the sea turtle space! Give her space!" As he's admonishing the three teenagers, they look up at him startled, and with a quizzical look seeming to take a moment to figure out who this person is, and what authority he might have to tell them what to do. After a few moments, the teenagers comply with the man's request and begin "giving space" to the green sea turtle floating at the surface, slowly retreating back to shore. Meanwhile, the large honu appears unfazed by the whole ordeal, continuing to bob up and down at the water's surface, occasionally lifting its head with green scales and big black eyes out of the water to peer at all of the human ccommotion on the beach.

The man with the blue hat is named Earl,[1] a white American retiree from the U.S. mainland who has volunteered with Mālama na Honu for several years now. On this day, I was learning to become a new honu guardian, by 'shadowing' Earl, following him around as he carried out his sea turtle educational and protection efforts with the international tourists endlessly flowing through this beach space. Earl spends about 30 hours in the hot sun each month volunteering his time to do 'educational outreach with visitors coming to Laniākea Beach

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all names of participants in this dissertation are pseudonyms.

to see sea turltes. After scolding the camera-clad, selfie-taking teenagers, he makes a few head shakes of disapproval, then returns to a conversation with another tourist he had put on hold to confront the teenagers. “Thank you for doing this,” the Australian tourist says to him, “some people have no common-sense.” This white Australian woman tells us she is visiting Lāniakea Beach with her family for the first time. Later, I learn that she had heard about ‘Turtle Beach’ from a sea turtle tour vendor while walking down the streets of Waikīkī where her hotel is, the tourist mecca of Hawai‘i about an hour’s drive away from Laniākea Beach in urban Honolulu. Through sharing knowledge with tourists like this Australian woman about the unique behaviors, appearances, ecology and even personal names and biographies of the Laniākea sea turtles, Earl hopes his educational outreach efforts engender a greater appreciation for – and therefore a desire to protect – these living dinosaurs as he affectionately calls them.

On the North Shore of O‘ahu, at Laniākea beach, a growing number of Hawaiian green sea turtles can be found most days swimming in the nearshore areas, or even basking on the sand to heat up in the warm sun for several hours at a time. This has not always been the case. The Hawaiian green sea turtle population had been substantially decimated due to unregulated fishing and over-consumption practices up to the 1970’s in Hawai‘i (Balazs & Chaloupka, 2004; Chaloupka et al., 2008). In 1978, the green sea turtle was listed as “threatened” under the U.S. Endangered Species Act (ESA) of 1973, becoming legally protected through government prohibitory policy, not only forbidding consumptive uses of sea turtles, but also human behaviors that might disrupt the species’ natural behaviors. At the same time, running in parallel with these conservation activities has been an emerging global wildlife tourism industry seeking to commodify public fascination with charismatic wildlife like sea turtles through staging up close tourist encounters with these animals in the wild. When these two trajectories of sea turtle conservation and sea turtle tourism converge at Laniākea Beach, as the above vignette serves to illustrate, divergent points of view on how to appropriately interact with these creatures becomes a topic of negotiation and contestation.

Figure 1.1 Giving the honu space

1.2 The concerns at the core of this dissertation

This vignette offers a starting point to show how people are becoming entangled with sea turtles at Laniākea Beach through their converging and conflicting points of view and practices arounds these animals. The example points to three areas in particular that this dissertation seeks to address. First, it shows how the human actions and identities that emerge in this beach space around sea turtles do not only involve linguistic resources; they also depend on the material world of objects, artefacts, and the movement of lively human and nonhuman bodies through the physical layout of this beach space. A major goal of this dissertation is to demonstrate how language and discourse do not exist separate from the embodied, material and living world, but are inextricably entangled with it.

Second, the actions and identities people take at this beach do not emerge in a sociocultural and political vacuum but are linked to more far-flung networks of American conservation practices and a global assemblage of tourism stakeholders and international tourists. When honu guardians learn to do sea turtle protection through their training, or when tourists seek out selfies with real-life sea turtles, to swim with them and even touch them, these actions can be traced to people's embedding in more far-flung institutional networks of tourism and conservation discourses which groove the here and now circumstances at this beach. In this way, the 'local' actions of volunteers and tourists are not isolated or entirely spontaneous events but are more like recurring nodal points in a vaster network of wildlife, people, objects, technologies, discourses, practices, and places.

Third, and finally, in volunteers' efforts to protect sea turtles, they seek to strategically *translate*[2] (Satsuka, 2015) how sea turtles and nature are experienced by an endless flow of international tourists in order to persuade tourists to think, feel, and act in certain ways. Satsuka (2015) defines the translation of nature as "a site for people with diverse backgrounds to engage with one another by evoking the idea that we live in the shared natural environment and, as human beings, have the same nature. Due to these imagined commonalities, we must constantly translate how others understand nature, despite the tremendous differences in understandings of nature in various knowledge

traditions…*Translation simultaneously creates the meeting ground and highlights differences, tensions, contradictions, and frictions*" (pp. 6-7, emphasis mine). In other words, through their linguistic and cultural interpretations of nature for tourists, volunteers attempted to move tourists around sea turtles, not only physically by interpellating their embodied interactions ('Give the *honu* space!'), but emotionally and intellectually as well ("You're harassing the *honu*!"). This initial vignette serves to provide an indication of how human interaction with charismatic wildlife like sea turtles, and natural places like beaches, are sites not simply of interdiscursive clash, but of interdiscursive translation, and as such, are key sites where new configurations of nature and culture are negotiated and potentially transformed (Callon 1986; Tsing, 2015; Whatmore, 2002).

In sum, this dissertation investigates how people circulate sea turtle conservation and tourism discourses through their embodied semiotic practices at Laniākea Beach, and how this strategic circulation of sea turtle discourse enables them to take certain actions, enact certain identities and imagine certain communities around sea turtles. I take up this investigation primarily through the perspective of honu guardians, or sea turtle protectors, as they work to carry out their sea turtle outreach efforts at Laniākea Beach. But I also examine how tourists move through, interact with and talk about sea turtles as well in this beachspace. Indeed, the efforts of honu guardians to protect sea turtles at this beach only emerged in parallel with a sea turtle tourism industry endlessly striving to promote Laniākea Beach as a prime tourist destination. With this in mind, this dissertation examines how honu guardians and tourists circulate conservation and tourism discourse through their actions, and the hybrid discursive practices that emerge at this tourism-conservation nexus. I connect the sea turtle tourism industry in Hawai'i to the wider eco-tourism industry emerging as a global market since the 1980s, eventually finding its way to this beach in the early 2000s. But I also consider the eco-tourism industry as an interdiscursive product forged in relation to global conservation practices that have, for over a century, popularized iconic or 'flagship' species like pandas, tigers and of course sea turtles, to raise funds for conservation efforts.

To analyze this circulation of sea turtle conservation and tourism discourses that shape the actions and identities people take with sea turtles at Laniākea Beach, I examine the points of production and reception involving representations of sea turtles that primarily Japanese- and

English-speaking tourists encounter in advertisements, that honu guardian encounter in training sessions, and that both encounter in face-to-face interaction with one another at the beach. The analysis focuses on the creative tension and heightened reflexivity engendered by intercultural contact that emerges when institutional discourses of conservation and tourism are made to circulate across different moments of activity at the beach. When the commodifying forces of tourism discourse come into contact with the protective discourses of sea turtle conservation, these discourses do not just clash. They also *translate*[3] one another in dynamic and syncretic ways.

To flag a recurring argument in this dissertation, I develop the claim that people's social practices around sea turtles are linked to cultural or ideological discourses of wildlife and nature in indirect and complex ways that problematize explanations that differences in people's attitudes and behaviors towards sea turtles can be traced to one's membership in ethnonational or cultural categories, such as American or Japanese. Instead, in this dissertation, I aim to contribute to research that critically engages with modernist conceptions of intercultural contact that tend to reify reify national identities as the basis of "intercultural" contact. Here I build on insights from critical sociolinguistic research on intercultural discourse and communication (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Kubota, 2012; Piller, 2017; Scollon, Scollon & Jones 2012), and particularly from research in the ethnography of speaking and interactional sociolinguistics on multilingual interaction in a globalizing world (Alim, 2009; Blommaert, 2010; Canagarajah, 2013; Gumperz & Gumperz, 2007; Higgins, 2009; Otsuji & Penncyook, 2010; Rampton, 1995, 1999; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 2007). From this perspective, I argue that for understanding the complex dynamics of intercultural communication around sea turtles, it is useful to forgo assumptions that cultural difference is pre-given, and instead ask how *interculturality* itself is enlisted and reinforced to produce and sustain certain identities and communities with charismatic species like sea turtles (e.g. Ryoo, 2007). As people strive to make sense of their own and others' thoughts, feelings and actions with sea turtles, a heightened sensitivity to interculturality emerges as a preoccupation

[3] The term translation is used in a technical way in actor-network theory (e.g. Latour, 1999; Michael, 2016) to describe the process by which a social actor transforms the semiotic-material grounds of communication of some collective of heterogenous entitites in order to redefine the interests and identities of those caught up in them. (Callon, 1986; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Latour, 1987; Star & Griesemer, 1989).

with these differing and often conflicting practices (Jacquemet, 2016). These notions of interculturality are further distinguished, clarified and reinforced through people‘s metadiscursive discussion and debate about the connection between cultural diversity and divergent human-environmental relations circulating in public discourse.

For this reason, I will argue that charismatic species like sea turtles are not merely key sites of intercultural contact and conflict in a globalizing world of increasing cultural diversity. Rather, human interaction with sea turtles are key sites where intercultural identities of inclusion and exclusion and community membership are produced. In particular, a focus on the linkages across multiple practices that people enlist in their embodied interaction with sea turtles at the beach to shed light on how people are simultaneously imbricated in multiple practices in moments of action that lead to the kinds of multifaceted and sometimes contradictory environmental actions people actually take in situated activity with animals (Marafiote & Plec, 2006; Milstein, 2009; see also Jones, 2008). This further sheds empirical light on how wildlife conservation practices such as those that emerge at Laniākea Beach are not just the practical outcome of objective science aimed at restoring a past and pristine nature before human-influenced degradation. These practices are also entangled with people’s cultural imaginings of their own and others’ desires towards past, present and future natures. In this way, I have come to see the volunteer-based conservation practices at Laniākea Beach as experimental practices, where people continually recalibrate the semiotic and material resources mediating their actions in reflexive ways as they strive to anticipate an unpredictable, ever changing landscape of human-sea turtle relations (Lorimer & Driessen, 2013).

Another concern I bring focus to is an emphasis on the metaphor of circulation, rather than flow as metaphors for discursive movement. Circulation, in contrast to flow, directs attention to the material and embodied channels that enable discourse to travel (Salazar, 2010). Ethnographic research in wildlife conservation and tourism settings have argued for the need to better understand the material circuits that allow discourse to travel, since it is along these circuits that social and ecological realities are reproduced, contested, sustained and transformed. With this in mind, a central focus of this dissertation is on the remediation, or *resemiotization,* of sea turtle discourse as an important aspect of socioecological transformation (Prior & Hengst,

2010). As I describe in more detail in chapter three, resemiotization refers to how a recognizable discourse is reused, repurposed, remediated and relocated across ever new moments of action – now embodied, now material, now discursive, now virtual – and in the process undergoes semiotic transformations that bestow it with new affordances and constraints for action. To understand this process, the dissertation directs focus to the mobilization of conservation and tourism discourse *in situ*, rather than the critical analysis of texts and images abstracted from their deployment in actual moments of production and reception (Briggs, 2003; Scollon, 1998, 2001).

Through analysis of the empirical chapters, this dissertation addresses how people become caught up in the lives of sea turtles through their imbrication in more widely circulating discourses of animals and nature, and what kinds of human-animal relationships (positive or negative) are being forged as a result. The concept of *discourse* I develop in this dissertation, as I discuss in more detail chapter 3, draws on the notion of discourse developed in mediated discourse analysis (MDA) which engages seriously with Bakhtin's (1981) account of discourse as *dialogue*. Importantly, a dialogic approach to discourse analysis opens up an analytic space for considering how discourses are not already-formed wholes that clash in particular places but transform one another in unexpected and syncretic ways. On this point, I draw inspiration not only from the theoretical framework of MDA I outlined in chapter 3, but also from research in anthropology grappling with the ethnographic details of how institutional 'global' knowledge is transformed as it circulates in the hybrid spaces of local practices (Kaplan & Kelly, 1994; Pigg, 2001; Scott, 2009; Tsing, 2005). Building on these ideas, Scott (2009) points out that "it is precisely in these syncretic, hybrid, polyglot spaces of global connection that culture, knowledge, and power are in fact produced—and just as crucially, produced in forms and arrangements we rarely can imagine in advance, before ethnography" (p. 28). Citing the work of Kaplan & Kelly (1994) on the dialogic *zones of transcursion*[4] where colonial and local discourses converge in the

[4] Kaplan & Kelly (1994) usefully capture the distinction between the notions of discourse and dialogue in the following way: "Dialogue is a different kind of residence for form, grammar, power, than 'a discourse', a class structure, or a 'whole social' anything. If form and grammar reside in dialogue, then they no longer exist in a clean, unified order apart from chaos. Then the power in varieties of incitement and repression no longer flow from discursively given conditions of possibility (as Foucault would have it) but from necessities and contingencies of form and order that are made, unmade, and remade dialogically, in social, historical processes that cannot be captured in any larger structure" (p. 128, cited in Scott, 2009, p. 29).

Pacific, Scott (ibid) goes on to argue that a dialogic approach "forces us to ethnographically and historically contend with the very local processes of power through which, in the struggle to extend regimes of knowledge and control, heterogeneous actors and institutions must necessarily redefine and stabilize themselves and their projects through often highly contingent inter-orientations and associations" (29) (cf. Latour, 1987). In this dissertation, in tracing how sea turtle conservation and tourism discourses converge at Laniākea Beach, I am seeking to investigate precisely this concern with how institutional discourses are made made to travel through the contingent and syncretic spaces of local human-sea turtle interactions, and what transformations they undergo in the process.

From this perspective, sea turtle tourism and conservation discourses do not travel as bounded, unchanging wholes, but undergo continual transformation as they rub up against one another like detritus thrown into a compost heap of social practices generates the hummus for future trajectories of knowledge and action (S. Scollon, 2003; Jones, 2008; cf. Haraway 2008). This organic metaphor aims to bring focus to the on-going transformation of social practices of human-sea turtle interaction at Laniākea Beach. By this token, this dissertation aims to provide insight into these transformative local practices as people invoke them and attempt to render them persuasive or authoritative in situated practice to achieve different communicative and interactional goals with one another at the beach.

But in attending to these practical communicative and interactional objectives of people at the beach – to protect sea turtles or to get selfies with them – this dissertation also seeks to contribute to research on how environmental discourse mediates people's actual behaviors with charismatic wildlife like sea turtles. This research concern stems in particular from recent calls in ecolinguistics to develop a better understanding of the causal links between the environmental discourses that circulate in society and how these discourses come to shape the environmental actions people actually take with animals and the natural world. Steffensen (2018) argues that critical discourse analyses of environmental discourse have yet to fully escape from their core assumption of the *social osmosis of ideas* which still leaves fuzzy 'how language gains the power to effect the environment.' In other words, the problem is that ecolinguistics still tends to take for granted the link between discourse and embodied action, leaving unclear exactly *how* specific discourses about the environment mediate the complex and often contradictory social actions

people actually take towards animals and the natural environment. With a better foundation in this link, the aim is to not just critique negative ecological discourses, but to effectively circulate 'positive' eco-discourses that might encourage individuals and institutions to take more ethical and sustainable actions towards animals and the natural world (Stibbe, 2015, 2018). But the question of how to effectively spread positive discourses about animals and nature (and what 'positive' actually entails) is not just a concern for ecolinguists or of my efforts to understand the link between sea turtle discourse and people's actual embodied actions around sea turtles in this dissertation. It is also an on-going preoccupation of environmental activists around the world, and honu guardians at Laniākea Beach in particular, who spend hours in the hot sun every day striving to encourage tourists to view sea turtles with *Aloha* along Hawai'i's beaches.

To address these theoretical concerns, I ask three key questions in this dissertation:

1. How do discourses of wildlife tourism and conservation shape interaction with endangered wildlife like sea turtles, and what kinds of ethical practices are being forged in these multispecies encounters?
2. How do 'turtle tourists' and 'honu guardians' – with a primary focus on English-speaking volunteers and Japanese-speaking tourists – use, learn and transform discourses of sea turtle tourism and conservation? And, how does the strategic circulation of these divergent discourses converge to produce certain actions, identities and communities at the beach?
3. How is *interculturality* negotiated at the syncretic nexus of sea turtle tourism and conservation practices and discourses?

In what follows, I situate this dissertation within emerging applied linguistic and sociolinguistic research on the material basis of language practices and social practices implicating language. I then expand on the theoretical framework of this dissertation briefly discussed above, fleshing out the key constructs that inform my analysis of empirical data in the chapters to follow.

1.3 The theoretical framework and the areas of contribution

Building on these concerns with materiality in sociolinguistics, in the section below I first synthesize current scholarship in the sociolinguistics of mobility, which helps me to situate this study of flows of people into natural spaces and the interaction of people of different backgrounds with one another. I then bring into dialogue three areas of research to investigate how people become caught with sea turtles through their semiotic practices, and how these practices are in turn mediated by more extensive networks of conservation and tourism discourses and practices. These areas of research include: 1) ecolinguistic studies on the discursive representation of animals; 2) studies in sociocultural linguistics on human-animal interaction; and 3) ethnographic studies on wildlife tourism and conservation settings that critically engage with emerging debates about what ethical and sustainable human-environment relations that a diverse range of tourism and conservation practices might foster (or not) when we recognize the global scale of human-induced ecological crises, from climate change to species extinction. In reviewing the theoretical and empirical contributions of studies from these three wide-ranging areas of research, I bring focus to not just the question of *what* discourses of animals and nature circulate in society, but *how* these discourses are made to circulate through the world along material and living circuits of discursive movement like objects, technologies, places, ecosystems and lively human and animal bodies.

1.3.1 Sociolinguistics of mobility

The notion of *mobility* has become a central concern of recent work in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. As Blommaert (2013a) suggests, this increasing relevance of mobility in sociolinguistics can be traced to a more general paradigm shift in the field towards a 'post-Fishmanian' sociology of language (p. 621), a shift spurred along in particular by research on multilingualism in globalizing contexts (Blommaert, 2010; Heller, 2003; Pennycook, 2007; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010). This is because a focus on multilingualism has come especially from research addressing questions of language and globalization that "entails a radical unsettling of the boundaries of social life" (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999, p. 83). As Appadurai (1996) shows, two of the most important ways mobility has unsettled these

boundaries are through the "transcultural flows" circulated through transnational migration and digital technologies. These two aspects of globalization are radically transforming communicative environments, producing hybrid, dynamic, creative and unpredictable communicative practices and semiotic resources (Jacquemet, 2016). Researchers are developing a range terms to describe these dynamic and boundary-transcending semiotic practices such as translanguaging, transidiomatic practices, translingual practices, crossing, polylanguaging, and metrolingualism to name a few (for an overview of this emerging terminology see Rampton & Charalambous, 2010). The concept of mobility, then, has involved a shift away from theorizing countable languages and cultures as characteristics of bounded sedentary communities rooted to a particular place on the globe. Instead, a sociolinguistics of mobility disrupts modernist categories of bounded and countable cultures, languages and 'communities' as sociopolitical constructs emerging with the rise of European nation-states and spread through the colonial and capitalist logics of globalization, logics that have perpetuated essentializing links between culture, language, race and territory (Pietikäinen, 2016).

Sociolinguistic studies addressing mobility as a fundamental aspect of communicative practice have therefore been critical of primordialist assumptions about cultural difference informing research on intercultural communication (Piller 2017; Scollon, Scollon & Jones 2012). Kubota (2012), for example, argues that notions of languages and cultures as fixed essences in "[i]nvestigations of intercultural discourse and communication can involve problematic consequences of cultural essentialism and perpetuation of unequal cultural and linguistic relations of power, despite their good intention to promote mutual understandings across cultures" (p. 105). As critical sociolinguistic researchers have increasingly engaged with the field of intercultural communication over the past few decades, this work has brought ideology, politics and power to the fore of analyses of intercultural difference. In other words, this has involved a trenchant critique of analytic focus on juxtaposing pre-existing cultures or languages that come into contact, and a shift towards how *interculturality* is produced in situated practice, as people enlist sociopolitical and essentialist ideologies of cultural difference for strategic purposes – for example to distinguish insiders from outsiders – in interaction (Nishizaka, 1995; Ryoo, 2007; see also Gupta & Fergeson, 1992). As De Fina (2007) usefully summarizes this shift in sociolinguistic perspective from assumptions of pre-existing and static cultural differences and

bounded communities to a concern with the mobile and fluid semiotic resources used to produce interculturality, identity and community in the following way:

> Sociolinguistic studies of the management of ethnic categories in discourse and interaction…have shown that ethnic loyalties are not given but negotiated, that they are indexed in subtle ways rather than openly declared, and that they often contradict expectations and stereotypes about received ethnic boundaries. In the social constructionist perspective that these studies support, ethnicity should not be regarded as an abstract attribute of the individual, but rather as an interactional achievement grounded in concrete social contexts and evolving with them (p. 374)

The notion of performativity adopted from the work of Judith Butler (1990) has been central to sociolinguistics arguments for reconceiving language and culture as socially constructed rather than as an essential characteristic of one's membership in a linguistic or ethnic community. For example, Kubota (2012) describes this shift in analytic perspective by describing the social practice of exchanging business cards in Japan. Approaches that start with assumptions of cultural difference might attribute this behavior as embodying the hierarchical social culture of Japanese society. On the other hand, a performative approach instead takes the perspective that "what structures social practice and perspective is not a preexisting system of culture or language but people's acting on symbols and not only iterating actions but also appropriating, resisting, bending, and inventing language and culture" (p. 96). To suggest that people *perform* cultural difference, then, is to say that 1) they strategically select communicative resources from a range of possibilities and 2) are reflexively attentive to these differences in order to take certain actions and claim certain identities for themselves and others (Bauman, 2000; Coupland, 2007). With this, performativity extends the notion that bounded languages and cultures are not only socially constructed through their longer historical development as sociopolitical ideologies, but are constructed on the fly in moments of interaction too, as people deploy bits of and pieces of semiotic resources ideologically tied to different bounded languages (e.g. Japanese, English). This enables them to achieve a range of intercultural goals, such as to reassert cultural differences between speakers, appropriate other's cultural identities for strategic

purposes, or resist and transcend linguistic and cultural boundaries altogether (Bamberg, De Fina & Schiffrin, 2011; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Higgins, 2011).

With this said, however, as other scholars of intercultural communication in social interaction have pointed out (e.g. Irvine 2009; Norris and Jones 2005; Scollon 2001), one pitfall of foregrounding the contingent, performative and strategic dimensions of language practices is "that the enthusiastic analyst may attribute too much explanatory power to individual agency in conversational interaction" (Irvine 2009, p. 54). Suzie Scollon (2005) makes a similar point, arguing that "[I]n an era with megacorporations spending megabucks in advertising campaigns to control our every purchase while seeming to offer choice, it is imperative that we seek to understand how agency is distributed socially, culturally and historically…Any action occurs at the nexus of a historical human body, a social interaction order, and discourses in place" (p.174). In other words, both authors argue for avoiding a form of methodological individualism that might restrict our focus on language practices to the rational strategies, and therefore the conscious decision-making processes of individuals. At the same time however, this approach does not seek to emphasize the other end of the spectrum either: that our (mis)communicative practices are unproblematically and directly linked to our cultural conditioning. Rather, every moment of action involves situating oneself – and being situated – within a web of intersecting discourses, participants and practices all associated with different times, materials and places (Scollon 2001; cf. Bakhtin 1986; Latour 2005). In other words, from this perspective, human agency becomes distributed beyond the individual in moments of action, and therefore much more problematic and complex than notions of agency as a direct emanation of strategic and rational intent. I elaborate on this perspective in more detail in chapter 3.

In addition to research on intercultural communication, sociolinguistic studies of tourism that discuss the mobility and performativity of tourism discourse is especially relevant to my discussion in this dissertation of the hybrid discursive practices of sea turtle tourism and conservation that emerge at Laniākea Beach. These studies investigate the mobility of people and semiotic resources through tourist destinations, and the performative, staged and commodified nature of the sociolinguistic practices that emerge in these settings. This has led sociolinguists examining tourism settings to call on researchers to rethink foundational concepts in

sociolinguistics such as community and authenticity. These authors suggest that sociolinguistics may indeed need to "ditch altogether" these concepts as a means to be "better able to account for the hybrid, the translocal, the spectacular, the idiosyncratic, the creative, and the multimodal" (Jaworski & Thurlow 2010, p. 255) that characterize language practices in the era of globalization. Tourism places in particular push discourse analysts to grapple with the tension between 'old' and 'new' sociolinguistic understandings of a bounded *speech community* due to fluid and fleeting nature of face-to-face interaction in these settings. This is because the kinds of discursive practices that emerge in tourism settings are difficult to attribute to categories with well-defined boundaries like 'community,' 'culture' or 'native-speakers' but are rather phenomena that emerge through the *performance of contact* of specific social actors as they enlist a heterogenous array of semiotic and material resources to achieve their contingent and highly performative (e.g. staged and/or commodified) communicative goals. This move reflects a broader shift in the sociolinguistics of mobility towards a sociolinguistics of contact (with notable scholars including Mary Louise Pratt, Ben Rampton, Jan Blommaert, and Nikolaus Coupland) in the field, that seeks to address how large-scale social processes such as (neo)colonialism, globalization, transnational migration, and neoliberalism call on scholars to address underlying assumptions about the social, cultural and linguistic boundaries we may assume in advance of our empirical study language practices. As Blommaert (2010) argues, "globalization forces sociolinguistics to unthink its classic distinctions and biases and to rethink itself as a sociolinguistics of mobile resources, framed in terms of trans-contextual networks, flows and movements" (p. 1).

In this move towards a sociolinguistics of mobility, Rampton's (2010) critique of the sociolinguistic concept of speech community, as adopted in earlier *waves* of variationist sociolinguistics (see Eckert, 2012), is usefully captured in describing this move as a shift in interest from the study of language as 'production-within' to 'projection-across.' More recent research in sociolinguistics has taken up this broader shift in the field by conceptualizing mobility as not just the movement of people and meaning, but as an issue of semiotic-material *circulation*. A focus on circulation builds in part on insights from earlier work in linguistic anthropology on *entextualization*, a semiotic process that "render[s] stretches of discourse discontinuous with their discursive surround, thus making them into coherent, effective and

memorable texts" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 73-74; see also Silverstein and Urban 1996). But this more recent work also builds on the metaphor of circulation developed in actor-network theory developed in studies of globalization (Appadurai 1996, 2010) and particularly in tourism settings (Salazar 2010; Urry, 2003, 2005; Urry & Larsen, 2011; van der Duim, 2007; van der Duim, Ren, & Jóhannesson, 2013). This work acknowledges that "we are functioning in a world fundamentally characterized by objects in motion. These objects include ideas and ideologies, people and goods, images and messages, technologies and techniques. This is a world of flows" (Appadurai 2001, 5). While attending to the world of flows sheds light on *what* is flowing, the concept of circulation brings more squarely into focus *how* these flows travel. In other words, this marks a shift in analytic focus from the circulation of forms, to the *forms of circulation* (Appadurai 2010). As Salazar (2010) argues in his comparative study of the material basis of circulation that produces ecotourism destinations in East Africa and Indonesia, "[i]n order to understand how circulation works, we not only need to study what is circulating but also the sociocultural structures and mechanisms that make that circulation possible or impossible."

Latour (1999) argues that the social "possesses the bizarre property of not being made of agency or structure at all, but rather of being a *circulating entity*" (p. 17). From this perspective, macro and micro are not different levels of zoom on society, but the situated, local and contingent effects of "hooking up to circulating entities" (p. 19). In this way, circulation foregrounds the physical channels and conduits of discursive movement that connect flows of meaning and materiality through the semiotic-material vehicles of bodies, objects, interactions, technologies, and the material infrastructure of the semiotic landscape. Research on nature-based tourism and environmental conservation, in particular, has explored the concept of circulation to examine how flows of people, nature, animals, ideas, and capital become regimented to flow in particular ways, depending on a 'material and institutional infrastructure of movement' (Tsing 2000, p. 338). However, to understand how discourses of animals and nature circulate at Laniākea Beach to produce this place as both a tourism destination and conservation site, is important first to briefly describe what representations of animals these discourses mobilize.

1.3.2 Ecolinguistics: discourse and interaction in human-animal relations

1.3.2.1 The discursive representations of animals

Discourse analytic research on representations of animals has explored the question of how we view and talk about animals in diverse cultural contexts, and what consequences these ways of viewing and talking have for human interactions with animals and the wider natural world (Cook, 2015; Dunayer, 2001; Goatly, 2006; Sealey and Oakley, 2013; Stibbe, 2012). As human populations have grown increasingly more urbanized and dependent on industrial-scale agriculture and meat industries for food, human relations with animals have also changed over time. In particular, one consequence of these changes is that humans have become physically distanced from most animals, living out lives where animals are increasingly "encountered only as meat, pets, pests, or vicariously in fiction and documentaries..." (Cook, 2015). In this sense, discourse analysis of talk about animals describes the *erasure* (Stibbe, 2012) both physically and conceptually, of animals from human experience. As Stibbe (2012) argues, "Animals are disappearing, vanishing, dying out, not just in the physical sense of becoming extinct, but in the sense of being erased from our consciousness" (p. 1). Analyzing the discursive practices and linguistic innovation that both contribute to and counter-act this erasure of animals is a central focus of recent discourse analytic research on human-animal relations.

Tracing how animals are erased in multimodal texts and talk helps to understand how a range of problematic human interactions with animals are bolstered or undermined through discourse. For example, this is visible in the representational practices of industrial-scale animal agriculture that tend to hide our unethical treatment of animals and lack of sensitivity to nonhuman animal agency. In the global North, a dominant discourse of animals-as-resources has in effect erased the agency of 'livestock' in efforts to "make the suffering of animals appear unimportant" (Stibbe 2012, p. 28). In diminishing the agency, individuality and capacity for suffering of animals, this discourse draws on metaphors and metonyms characterizing animals as inanimate objects and machines, or by their human use value in terms of function (breeders), food-preparation (broilers) or flesh (beef) (pp. 28-29).

However, discourse analysis has also examined the counter-discourses that work to thwart this erasure of animals and their agentive capacities through, for example, the linguistic innovation of animal welfare and animal rights discourse. Research examining the relation between contrasting discourses about animal ethics reveals an underlying philosophical tension between beliefs in *human exceptionalism* and beliefs in *animal rights* (Cook, 2015). Human exceptionalism is the idea that humans constitute a completely separate and morally superior category to all other animals. This idea undergirds the legitimation of a diverse range of human practices such as meat eating, pet ownership, pest extermination, and hunting, just to name a few. Cook (2015), for instance, analyzes the discursive tension between human exceptionalism and animal rights discourse in public debates between pro-hunting and vegan organizations in the UK. The analysis shows that while both groups take radically different positions on what ethical animal welfare should look like ("A pig is a person not a meal," says a vegan in the study while a hunter argues, "you can have huge respect for deer and shoot them") they both create and defend ways of speaking about animals that resist distancing and erasing animals from human experience.

Interestingly, however, arguments from both vegans and hunters revealed a surprisingly narrow range of animals that groups are emotionally invested in, involving primarily 'charismatic' species such as "foxes, hares, cows, and cats." The disproportionate emotional attachment to certain species over others, Cook argues, "seem subsidiary to the broader ecological dangers" facing humanity (p. 18). But why do some animals seem to garner much more public fascination and emotional connection than others? This is a question that discourse analytic studies of 'charismatic species' in the contexts of wildlife conservation and tourism have helped to shed light on. For example, pandas, tigers and whales are often considered 'flagship' species for conservation efforts, acting as ambassadors for their unfortunately less charismatic fellow species. In addressing the question of how certain wildlife become 'charismatic,' researchers have pointed to the rise in neoliberal modes of conservation that rely on commodifying wildlife as spectacles for the citizen-consumer as a means to raise funds and awareness for conservation efforts (Lorimer, 2015).

Over the course of the last century, for example, orcas "have significantly transformed in Western consciousness from 1940s villainous blackfish shot at by commercial fishermen and used for target practice by the Royal Canadian Air Force, to 1960s and 1970s commodities captured to supply a succession of SeaWorld's first "Shamus," to today's nature tourism icon and pulse of oceanic health as top oceanic predators" (Milstein 2008, pp. 231-232). Tracing the historical transformation of discourse around charismatic species like orcas, or sea turtles as I show in more detail below, reveals how these creatures have become a focus of intense discursive struggle over time. In particular, the rapid neoliberalization of environmentalism since the 1980s has dramatically shifted discourses around charismatic wildlife as spectacles for a human audience, both on the screen and in real life, leading conservation efforts only in the past few decades to propose commodification "as the solution to, rather than the cause of, environmental problems" (Lorimer 2015, p.142).

1.3.2.2 Human-animal interaction

Discourse analysis of representations of animals, as briefly outlined above, provides insight into the culturally diverse and historically contingent ways humans view and talk about different animals. These studies have foregrounded how animals are being physically and discursively erased from everyday human life, as well as how the animals that do find entry into our lives tend to be a very narrow subset of 'charismatic species.' But this research also raises questions about how animal discourses come to shape our situated interactions with animals in actual practice. Here, it is helpful to turn to a growing body of work drawing on a combination of interactional and ethnographic tools. In doing so, these scholars have argued for the need to move beyond an anthropocentric focus on 'the human' in order to address "the more symmetrical and empirical question: what do they (i.e., both humans and animals) do [in interaction] and what ongoing partnerships are produced as a result?" (Franklin et al., 2007, p. 55).

As domesticated animals, pets and livestock are the species humans most commonly build close or intimate relationships with, and emerging interactional research is exploring the combination of linguistic and embodied resources involved in these interactions. For example, in her innovative study on human-steer interaction among high school students on a rural

Californian farm, Bucholtz (2015) argues that embodied interaction analysis can make important contributions to emerging questions about how the agency of animals contributes to meaningful human-animal interaction. Notably, she considers how humans and animals build intersubjective relations through embodied and skillful joint interactional accomplishments. Adapting conversation analytic methods to human-animal interaction, she argues, "…it is only within embodied encounters…that humans and animals engage with and enter into social and affective relations or partnerships with one another" (3). This study foregrounds how bodies become the vital medium through which to bridge human and nonhuman modes of communication (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2016).

Research on human-dog interaction, owing to dogs' deep cultural and historical ties to human societies as "companion species" (Haraway, 2008), has been at the forefront of research on embodied human-animal interaction. In part, this research has explored how dogs are recruited as resources to accomplish different interactional goals with other human conversational partners in, for example, families, among friends, or in veterinary diagnostic talk (Obeng, 1999; Stivers, 1998; Tannen, 2004). In these studies, animals are analyzed as mediational tools in human interaction, more as object-like interactional resources than as active agents themselves. However, recent research in linguistic anthropology has sought to reconsider animals as agentive participants in human-animal interaction (Goodwin, 2009; Kohn, 2007). These perspectives build on a Peircean semiotic approach to suggest that human language is not radically separate from (or exceptional to) animal forms of communication but built on more fundamental embodied (iconic-indexical) semiotic processes used by all living organisms to sense and instigate actions in the world around them.

Cows and dogs all have long histories of close interaction with humans and interactional research offers methods that shed light on the range of meaning-making processes that mediate communication between humans and domesticated species. However, these studies raise questions about the social and affective ties that might be constructed with animals that are considered a bit more on the 'wild' side, like elephants (Whatmore, 2002), birds (van Dooren, 2014), or as I explore in more detail below, sea turtles. As Bucholtz (2015) argues, "to understand more fully the workings of human-animal interaction, it is…necessary to consider a

broad range of species, situations, and relationships" (4). This calls for interactional research that can address human encounters with a range of both domesticated and wild species, encounters inflected by diverse sociocultural attitudes, interests and discourses about animals and nature. In particular, examining human interactions with 'charismatic' wildlife – creatures that tend to provoke strong emotions across a wide variety of actors – shed light on questions of how and why we interact with certain wild animals in the ways that we do.

As magnets for human emotion, charismatic species and their habitats are also often sites of conflict where stakeholders with different interests collide (e.g. conservationists, tourists, local residents, urban planners). For example, Appleby and Pennycook (2017) describe the discursive clash around sharks in Australia between an environmentalist discourse of shark protection and an alarmist discourse in the media demonizing sharks. Here, conflictual shark talk emerges at the nexus of a range of human-shark practices, from shark conservation programs to eco-tourism practices like shark diving tours, and even efforts to cull shark populations that live near popular beaches. But these divergent discourses are more than ways of structuring different human perceptions and relations with sharks. From this perspective, discourse is no longer purely human as it becomes entangled with the natural world of sharks, beaches and oceans, and as sharks' ways of experiencing their worlds are resemiotized into human discourse and practice. In considering the implications of this more-than-human approach to discourse for critical language research, the authors argue that to "engage ecologically" requires a need to pop our anthropocentric bubble and shift the unit of analysis from a focus on human relations to a more entangled network of *nature-culture assemblages,* a concept I elaborate in more detail in chapter 3. Here, "[t]he aim is not to get rid of humans and language but to reorganize them, put them where they belong, not always so much at centre stage but rather in the periphery, as a part of a larger understanding of semiotics and politics" (p. 253).

1.3.3 Wildlife tourism and conservation assemblages in the Anthropocene

In bringing this wide-ranging body of discursive and interactional work on human-animal relations into dialogue, in what follows, I aim to build on the work briefly outlined above in an

integrative way by bringing this work into dialogue with recent research on wildlife tourism and conservation drawing on the concept of *assemblage*. Research on human-wildlife relations in tourism and conservation settings has especially drawn on this concept to conceptualize the complex entanglements of people, animals, nature and culture emerging in a time increasingly described in academic and public debate as the Anthropocene (see section below). Assemblage is a concept developed in the spatial philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) that has been widely drawn on across disciplines in the social sciences to address dynamic human entanglements with the material and natural world. Sociolinguistics and applied linguists have recently drawn on the concept of assemblage to retheorize semiotic repertoires and linguistic competencies, not as individual capacities, but as *posthumanist* relational achievements spun from the performative interactions among bodies, objects, practices, discourses, technologies and spatial layouts (Barad 2003). This dissertation draws inspiration in particular from how the concept of assemblage is being taken up in the interdisciplinary field of human-animal studies examining contexts of wildlife conservation and wildlife tourism (Whatmore, 2002; Lorimer, 2015). This work builds on research that brings assemblage thinking into dialogue with actor-network theory (ANT) (Latour, 2005) to investigate the circulation of meanings, affects, knowledges, and materials that produce and transform wildlife tourism and conservation settings around the world. As I discuss below, the Anthropocene, or the idea that human beings have become the primary force shaping the geoclimatic and ecological systems of the earth, is an important framing device – or foil for critique – in this research. I argue that this posthumanist research raises important questions for sociolinguists examining human-animal relations, notably: what kinds of assemblages do people and animals become caught up in through their co-constitutive semiotic and embodied interactions together? And what kinds of ethical human-animal identities and communities are being forged in these encounters as a result?

1.3.3.1 The Anthropocene

A growing number of scientists, environmentalists and scholars are referring to the current era we are entering as the Anthropocene. First coined by the geoscientists Crutzen and Stoermer (2000), the Anthropocene tells the story that for most human history, the geology and climate of the planet were influenced by nonhuman natural forces. Over the past few hundred

years, however, human exploitation of natural resources has unraveled ancient threads of ecological interdependence at lightning speed, placing into question the future livability of the planet for both humans and other forms of life. In the wake of this devastation, humans have altered the planet's geology and ecosystems to such a degree that collectively, people have become a global 'force of nature.' In other words, human agency, or Anthropos, now accounts for the primary force shaping the Earth's natural landscapes and ecosystems. However, the concept of the Anthropocene has generated a number of *conceptual rifts* among scholars of human-environment relations (Chakrabarty, 2014). For example, it has been argued to the erase responsibility of Western colonialism and capitalism as the root causes of the current socio-ecological crises, by lumping all of humanity into a global 'we.' As Cuomo (2011) argues, "[c]limate change was manufactured in a crucible of inequality, for it is a product of the industrial and the fossil-fuel eras, historical forces powered by exploitation, colonialism, and nearly limitless instrumental use of 'nature'" (p. 693). Instead of calling our new epoch the Anthropocene, scholars critical of the concept argue that a more apt name is the Capitalocene (Moore, 2016).

In grappling with these critical concerns, a growing collection of research projects emerging under the label of *posthumanism* argues that the Anthropocene poses fundamental questions about the divides we draw between humans and nonhumans, and society and nature (Latour, 2004). Sociolinguistics and applied linguists have recently entered this conversation, arguing that this unsettles an array of assumptions about the relations between humans, language and the material world, forcing us to rethink the human exceptionalism that underlies assumed Cartesian and Saussurean divisions in the field between mind and matter, or representation and materiality (Bucholtz & Hall, 2016; Canagarajah, 2018, Pennycook, 2017). But the disruption of these longstanding dualisms inherited from Western Enlightenment thinking is primarily rooted not in theoretical concerns, but in scholars' efforts to come to grips with the enormity of ecological crises enveloping the world. Faced with these existential concerns, scholars across the social and natural sciences, scholars are increasingly asking how their research can address the complex but necessary task of developing new ethical, political and eco-social frameworks that foster more "life-sustaining relationships of humans with other humans, other organisms and the physical environment…' (Stibbe 2015, 9). In what follows, I situate emerging posthumanist

research on wildlife tourism and conservation settings within this larger academic conversation of the Anthropocene, emphasizing how the concept of assemblage has often been enlisted in this work to investigate the complex entanglements of humans and wildlife in these contexts.

1.3.3.2 Wildlife Tourism in the Anthropocene

As Huijbens and Gren (2016) argue, "[a]n emerging theme of tourism and the Anthropocene is on elucidating ways in which the Earth can be made sensible through tourism practices and development." (p. 9). Tourism research in sociolinguistics has emphasized how tourism practices embrace a 'tourist gaze' that manifests a neocolonial sensibility to 'possess' place (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2014). But emerging tourism research engaging with the Anthropocene is exploring how tourism practices might instead "cultivate Earthly sensibilities and attunement to the Earth." Notably, the tension between a representational tourist gaze that exploits nature, and a more visceral, embodied, and *affective* encounter that might harmonize with the nonhuman natural world in the tourist experience is an important topic of concern for research on wildlife tourism settings. This is in part because the advertised ethical stance of these industries, in promoting "sustainable tourism" or "eco-tourism," is itself the marketed commodity. In particular, this research has sought to investigate how wildlife tourism assemblages are organized around affective modes of meaning making, with a particular focus on the *affective logics* (Lorimer, 2007) that contribute to the charisma of certain species of wildlife as a force that both orders and disrupts wildlife tourism assemblages.

The ethnographic details of Milstein's (2008) research on orca tourism discussed in the section above offers one starting point. Her ethnographic work reveals a terrain of contested attitudes towards orca-human relations in the everyday communicative practices of scientists, tourists, and local tour guides. On the one hand, as charismatic megafauna, orcas are described as emblems of 'Nature' providing portals to connect with wider ecological relationships with the natural world as ambassador species capable of emotionally and ethically attuning humans to ecological responsibility. This is precisely the affective engagement with Nature that those concerned with protecting wild orcas and their habitats hope the whale watching tour guides transmit through their interactions with tourists. On the other hand, as charismatic species, orcas are often subsumed by anthropomorphic representations that spectacularize them as entertaining

performers, argued to blind people to the broader ecological relationships they depend on for survival.

Mühlhäusler and Peace (2001) further shed light on the affective logics that entangled people and humpback whales in the cetacean tourism assemblage of Fraser Island, Australia. In their ethnographic discourse analysis of tour guide-tourist interactions, the authors observe that humpback whales are mediated through a discourse of authentic connection with nature, through which people can encounter whales as "untamed," "wild" and "authentic" portals to a nature untouched by humans. However, the ecological soon gives way to the spectacular in these discourses as human-humpback interactions are simultaneously mediated by a circus metaphor. As the authors write, the tour guide's role "as a kind of ringmaster is discreetly carried out, but words and phrases such as "just before your eyes," "thrill," "amazing spectacle," and 'breathtaking action'" (p. 373) reveal the way spectacular performances are central to satisfying touristic desires for entertainment. While these ecotourist discourses emphasize meaningful and authentic experiences with wildlife, where interactions with these creatures are touted as educational moments for tourists to foster a desire to protect humpback whales, the authors argue that tour guide-volunteer interaction mobilizes affect in a way that renders whales a reliable, and superficial 'green' commodity to feed this growing tourism assemblage.

In the context of wildlife tourism in Eastern Africa's Serengeti plain, the landscape itself is often the commodity of nature-based tourism, as it is shaped by powerful discourses of exotic wildlife and pristine Nature circulating in the West. While wildlife tourism in the region has almost entirely shifted from trophy hunting to photo hunting safaris, the primary attraction still remains the "Big Five" – lions, leopards, rhinoceros, elephant, and buffalo – revealing how the enduring charisma of these animals fueling tourists' desire to get their non-lethal trophy shot. In the cloud forests of Guatemala, Kockelman (2016) offers insight into the convergence of eco-tourism operations with conservation efforts organize around the quetzal, a bright green and red bird with long tail feathers, classified as a near-threatened species due to habitat destruction, mostly through slash-and-burn agricultural practices by local inhabitants. The goal of the eco-tourism is in part to transition villagers away from environmentally destructive agricultural activities to ecotourism as a new model for sustainability. However, framing local inhabitants,

who are also often indigenous, as the primary culprits of ecological degradation due to their destructive slash and burn practices narrows the scale of analysis to erase – and therefore absolve – the responsibility of institutions and corporations that are much more powerful actors fueling the socioeconomic inequality that lies behind these local practices. In this way, ecotourism is a convenient ally of neoliberal modes of market-based environmental governance, shifting the focus of blame for ecological degradation onto those least responsible, and therefore strategically frame what the 'solutions' should be. "In short," Kockelman argues in describing how these solutions materialized in a quetzal ecotourism project in the Guatemalan cloud forests, "the impulse, if not achievement, of the project's neoliberal intervention was to coordinate villagers' and tourists' interactions, calibrate these modes of coordination with cash, and thereby conduct local economic goals, such as the earning of money, toward global ethical ends, such as the preservation of biodiversity" (p. 16). This involved Spanish-speaking Peace Corps volunteers training primarily Q'eqchi' speaking villagers to accommodate the 'desires and habits' of tourists in various ways.

Finally, Cloke and Perkins, (2005) draw on the concept assemblage to examine the cetacean tourism practices in Kaikoura, New Zealand. Here they investigate how the whale-watching industry strategically organizes the discursive pathways circulating through this place, including how projects operating in the same place, involving whale conservation efforts, indigenous communities, and a global tourism industry, challenge, co-opt and transform this cetacean tourism assemblage. But they also show how the *charismatic hauntings* of whales continually disrupt and transform this assemblage too: by not showing up to perform, swimming further out to sea, or otherwise resisting being recruited as predictable and commodifiable objects of tourism. Here, they describe how tourists' visceral encounters whales involve their "becoming-nature or becoming animal, rather than a stable masterful human subject" (Franklin & Crang, 2001, p. 18). However, whales are also agentive participants that transform this assemblage, revealed in how the tourism industry scrambles to continually adjust their unpredictability.

1.3.3.3 Wildlife conservation in the Anthropocene

For wildlife and environmental conservationists, the Anthropocene has further mobilized a resurgence of long-standing projects to rethink environmentalism in a world irreversibly shaped by human influence. These perspectives are best illustrated by recent "postnature" environmentalists arguing for more experimental approaches to environmental conservation that can accommodate the human-altered landscapes of the Anthropocene. As Marris (2011) argues for example, "We must temper our romantic notion of untrammeled wilderness and find room next to it for the more nuanced notion of a global, half-wild rambunctious garden, tended by us" (Marris 2011, p. 2; see also Morton 2007). On the other hand, for other conservationists, the Anthropocene signals the beginning of the "end of nature" (Mckibben, 1989), calling on us to shore up the boundaries between humans and untouched wilderness now more than ever (Wilson, 2016; see Cronon, 1996 for an important critique of the wilderness idea in conservation thinking). As scholars have pointed out, both of these approaches draw on cultural imaginaries that valorize past and future natures in different ways that "more closely resemble a collective construction of alternative natures that obeys cultural impulses more than scientific ones" (Heise, 2016). In this way, both of these approaches draw on cultural imaginaries that valorize past and future natures in different ways. This tension between the cultural and scientific impulses that underlie and shape conservation practices around the world raise questions about how we come to value different natures, and how we work to save them.

Research on wildlife conservation settings engaging with these debates on Anthropocene environmentalisms have drawn on posthumanist theory to critique the human exceptionalism that underlies many of these perspectives. Notably, emerging research in multispecies ethnography has argued for closer scrutiny of human-animal interactions in actual practice to better understand the complexities of how humans and other organisms come into contact within one another and who benefits from these interactions. In these studies, "[c]reatures previously appearing on the margins of anthropology—as part of the landscape, as food for humans, as symbols—have been pressed into the foreground…" (Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010, p. 545).

Environmental conservation, and wildlife conservation in particular, are projects explicitly concerned with making 'better natures' (Hinchliffe, 2007). However, in exploring how people actually imagine and practice making better natures in spaces for wildlife conservation,

these practices involve the convergence of a range of stakeholders, from governments officials and urban developers to local communities, scientists. activist volunteers 'in the field,' and the animals themselves that inhabit these spaces. What these studies often reveal are the tensions, conflicts and experimental practices that characterize these unstable assemblages of coexistence between human and non-human actors. As Hinchliffe writes, "Rather than watertight containers, spaces for nature are more permeable and multiple matters" (6). Posthumanist studies of wildlife conservation sites attempt to make critical interventions into key issues for wildlife conservationists: Should humans and wildlife interact or be kept apart? What should wildlife conservation look like in human dominated spaces like the city? Does wildlife conservation involve restoring past spaces for nature, or helping 'novel' spaces to flourish? What kinds of 'wild'-life do we value or not value in urban and rural spaces?

Van Dooren (2015) provides insight into the conflictive entanglement between endangered wildlife and various human stakeholders that emerge in wildlife conservation settings, examining the case of a captive breeding program for the 'alala or Hawaiian Crow on the island of Hawai'i (Big Island). The 'alala or Hawaiian crow has been extinct in the wild since 2002, but conservation groups in Hawai'i have managed to breed a small population of these birds in captivity with the hopes of someday releasing them back into the wild again. However, in the developing plans to created protected areas for 'alala to be reintroduced, friction soon arose between local pig hunters and the conservationists as these hunters, many of whom are Native Hawaiian, protested that access to traditional hunting grounds was being cut off. "As one hunter put it," Van Dooren writes, "environmentalists are 'always using something endangered to the islands for try grab land'" (p. 16). In this way, some pig hunters saw conservation of the 'alala as 'trojan horse' of on-going colonialism, not only restricting a traditional hunting practice, but further disposing Native Hawaiians of their land. "For people inhabiting this history, fence building is never an innocent act." As van Dooren goes on to argue, "publicly supporting conservation—as a Hawaiian or anyone else—requires one to enter into what another local called the 'raging fire of emotion' that surrounds the occupation and subsequent colonisation of the islands" (p. 14).

Another aspect of research on wildlife conservation settings relevant to this dissertation is the how people negotiate ethical degrees of human embodied *engagement* and *detachment* with

wildlife. For example, Candea (2010) shows how the embodied practices of engagement and detachment of scientists studying a community of meerkats in South Africa came under scrutiny by a global public newly engaged with this particular community of meerkats through a popular British 'docu-soap.' With the show's rise in popularity, a donation-based organization and website was set up for fans of the show, and many fans were able to write-in questions or post comments for the meerkat scientists at the site. After a "particularly death-laden episode" of the show, one fan commented:

> "I realise scientists are there to observe and not interfer with nature, but for Gods sake, you have allready given all these animals names and have shown us, they each have their own personality…why can't the scientists show some humnan compashion, and help out these poor little animals?" (p. 242).

In Candea's (2010) interviews at the field site however, scientists argued that the 'anthropomorphic' attachment to meerkats generated by the television show were unhelpful for understanding what the scientists' work actually involved, and "traced what they saw as a pathological attachment to a lack of actual knowledge about the animals." As Candea argues, scientists and volunteers at the site "cultivated detachment as an ethical orientation" (p. 251). in exploring what "proper distance" from meerkats should look like when humans were in the presence of these *Erdmännchen* or 'little earth people' (German for Meerkat).

Finally, Hinchliffe, Kearnes, Degen and Whatmore's (2005) ethnographic account of urban water vole conservation in the UK brings focus to these conflictive discourses and affects through an ethnographic examining of a human-water vole *assemblage* involving "stories, practices, technologies, animals and people" (p. 38). The water vole is a species of rodent, valued as an endangered species in the UK (but actively exterminated as a pest in France), that somewhat resembles a wild hamster, with a rounded nose, chubby cheeks, and stubby ears. Along with a variety of other creatures, water voles utilize this interconnected mosaic of urban wild spaces that activists and conservationists are fighting to have protected as a wildlife corridor. But local politicians have other designs for what they see as wasted space: a high-technology corridor prime for urban development. Crucial to the efforts to protect this space,

then, is to a volunteer-staffed effort to officially establish the presence of water voles in these wasted spaces. But the elusiveness of these animals has made this challenging work. Through the examining the daily efforts of volunteers to represent how water voles represent their habitats in their efforts to create a space for these creatures in the city, Hinchliffe argues for reconceptualizing wildlife conservation efforts as *cosmopolitcal experiments*, drawing on Stengers' (1997) notion of cosmopolitics. Adequately engaging with this idea is beyond the scope of this introduction, but the gist is to develop a kind ecosocial politics that might "…allow others, of all shapes, sizes, and trajectories, to object to the stories we tell about them, to intervene in our processes as much as we intervene in theirs. Only by doing this can we hope to learn how things *matter* to humans and nonhumans" (Hinchliffe, et al. 2005, p. 656, emphasis mine).

1.4 Human-wildlife relations as a site of sociolinguistic and applied linguistic research

I now turn to the study of human-wildlife relations situated in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, fields which are well placed to shed light on the dynamic, socioculturally diverse and ethically problematic ways we become caught up with animals and the natural world through our semiotic practices. Tourism is an important and growing area of research in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, and this research has made important contributions to our understanding of how a focus on semiotic practices in tourism settings sheds light on broader economic, political and cultural realms of social life (Heller, Pujolar & Duchêne, 2014; Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011). As Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow (2014) have emphasized, "Tourism seldom merely represents cultural difference or reflects existing socio-economic relations within and between countries (or regions), instead, it is instrumental in producing the very culture that tourists set out to know..." (p. 450). At the same time, this research has shed light on how locals who depend on the tourism industry for their livelihood must often navigate the expectations and seductive imaginaries of exotic "Otherness" that tourism discourse generates, learning to produce commodities of spectacle that conform to these seductive imaginaries, whether these are commodities shaped by tourism imaginaries of culture, language, place, or Nature (Pratt, 1992). More recent research on tourism settings is bringing these concerns into dialogue with posthumanist concerns with materiality, asking how objects, built

landscapes and embodied practices animate, perform and order places as tourism destinations (Thurlow & Jaworski, 2014).

Similar concerns with the interface between language, bodies, and the material world are also animating recent research exploring human interaction with animals and natural places in sociolinguistics (Bucholtz, 2015) and applied linguistics (Appleby & Pennycook, 2017). However, human-animal relations are a rich but underexplored context for an ecologically engaged sociolinguistics and applied linguistic to examine the problematic society-nature entanglements emerging in the Anthropocene. Building on these concerns, in what follows, I summarize four major areas where sociolinguistics and applied linguistics research can contribute to studies on wildlife tourism and conservation settings, two settings, as this dissertation will show, often overlap in practice.

The body. Applied and sociolinguistic research on embodiment has shed light on how the body is a mediational resource in everyday multilingual interaction (Bucholtz & Hall 2016; Blackledge and Creese 2017; Jaworski & Thurlow 2011; Streeck, Goodwin & Lebaron 2011). As Bucholtz and Hall (2016) emphasize in advocating for an embodied sociolinguistics, "language is a primary means by which the body enters the sociocultural realm as a site of semiosis, through cultural discourses about bodies as well as linguistic practices of bodily regulation and management" (p. 173). An emphasis on the body has also involved increasing focus in applied linguistic research on how space and place figure into our embodied semiotic practices (Canagarajah, 2017; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2003). Notably, sociolinguistic research on tourism has explored how the significance of place emerges through the reciprocal dance between embodied interaction and a physical tourist site. Here, embodied engagement with the semiotic landscape "mediates visitors' movements and actions in the site, just as tourists' movements and actions also mediate the site itself" (Jaworski &Thurlow 2014). From this perspective, the semiotic landscape is continually remade through embodied interaction with place, taking shape as "an assemblage or ensemble of multiple communicative modes and systems" (ibid, 466).

Space. This work suggests that analyzing our embodied engagement with different spaces –markets, schools, kitchens, tourist destinations – calls for rethinking linguistic competence "not

as properties of individual humans but rather as *distributed* across people, places, and artefacts" (Pennycook, 2016). Foregrounding how the realization of linguistic repertoires depends on spatial specification, linguistic competence is better understood as a *spatial repertoire* (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2014, Canagarajah, 2017), a competence that is "formed through individual life trajectories to the particular spaces in which these linguistic resources are deployed" (Blackledge and Creese, 2017, p. 6). When we shift our attention to all of the objects, technologies, and places that provide the conditions of possibility for human action in the world, it becomes harder to insist on human agency as being located inside the skin of a single individual. Rather, if we consider human agency to be a distributed capacity that cobbles together language, the body and the affordances of place in order to act, "then certainly built objects and technologies…are integral partners in this mediation" (Bucholtz and Hall, 2016, p. 187).

Materiality and objects. This distributed perspective on language, agency, the body and space is part of a growing interest across the social sciences and humanities to bring the material world more forcefully back into social analysis. Research in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics have illuminated how objects, technologies and built landscapes mediate human interaction in dynamic ways. Studies have explored the discursive practices emerging through embodied interaction with digital video technology (Jones 2009; Thurlow and Jaworski 2011), archaeological tools (Goodwin, 2000, 2017), cheese (Mondada 2018), organic rice (Norris & Makboon, 2015) and fish (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2017), to name a few. This work is wide ranging, both in approach and how they theorize the relation between language and the material world. But a consistent thread throughout this work is that the conceptual chasm between representation and materiality inherited from Saussure and carried through post-structuralist thinking too often sees semiosis as *about* the world rather than *of* the world (Steffensen, 2018). This has brought some sociolinguists engaging with materiality to draw inspiration from posthumanist thought in developing empirical studies exploring how semiosis is not just a mode of representation, but a mode of materialization (Appadurai 2015). Here, sociolinguistic research on the material basis that provides the conditions of possibility for media and mediatized representations of tourismified places, objects, and in particular charismatic wildlife offers important insights for future research (Jaworski & Thurlow 2014; Salazar, 2006; Ren, 2011).

Local Knowledges/Practices. A further area where sociolinguistics and applied linguistics contributes to posthumanist approaches to human interaction with animals and the natural is research critiquing the hegemonic expansion of Western Enlightenment notions of human exceptionalism. This critique 'provincializes' Enlightenment thinking (Chakrabarty, 2000) as just another local knowledge tradition, although one with hegemonic global reach. This knowledge emerged at a particular time in Europe, but has inscribed itself today as universal, erasing and marginalizing other local knowledge practices on its path to domination. Applied linguists in particular have made this critique in efforts to give voice to subaltern, indigenous, and local forms of knowledge production that bear on language practices, language teaching and language policy (Canagarajah 2005, Higgins 2009; Kubota 2014, Pennycook 2010). As Canagarajah (2005) writes, the "…enlightenment is one of the most ambitious attempts of a local knowledge to extend its dominion in global proportions… and suppress recalcitrant beliefs as it presented itself as valid for everyone" (6). These attempts can be seen, for example, in how communicative language teaching is presented as universally valid across cultural contexts (Phillipson, 1992) or in the ideological power that the monolingual bias continues to hold in bi/multilingual research (May 2013; Pennycook and Mufwene 2007).

1.5 Summary

In grappling with these issues, critical sociolinguistic and applied linguistic research can contribute to our understanding of human-animal interaction in wildlife tourism and conservation settings like Laniākea Beach. In particular, due to its longstanding critical work on the ideological production of linguistic, cultural, epistemic and community boundaries, this work is well places to contribute to investigating the sociocultural specificity, historical contingency and situated emergence of problematic human-wildlife interactions taking shape around the world. The concept of assemblage, as it is being taken up in recent sociolinguistic and applied linguistic research, is being taken up as way one to integrate this wide-ranging body of work, as it "moves away from the humanist concern with individuals and systems in their heads and looks at a greater totality of interacting objects, places and alternative forms of semiosis" (Pennycook, 2017, p. 55).

In this dissertation, I build on this body of work in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics exploring how people becoming caught up with the material world through their semiotic practices. In particular, I draw inspiration from recent studies in applied linguistics drawing on the concept of assemblage to examine people's semiotic practices not as individual capacities, but as relational achievements spun from interacting bodies, objects, practices, discourses, technologies and spatial layouts (Pennycook, 2016). I bring this work into dialogue with human-animal studies examining contexts of wildlife conservation and wildlife tourism (Whatmore, 2002; Lorimer, 2015), as it has developed this idea in an on-going dialogue with actor-network theory (ANT) (Latour, 2005). There are two aspects of assemblage in this work that I emphasize in this dissertation. First, wildlife conservation and tourism discourses do not just spread through the world as if by social osmosis. Rather, certain actors make them spread by re-ordering and remaking relations among bodies, objects, technologies, discourses, and environments with the aim of rendering wildlife conservation and tourism practices indispensable to everyday life in particular places. As Lorimer (2015) argues, the important point is to recognize how "[a]ssemblages allow certain actors to speak for, commodify, govern, and thus shape the world, often in conflict with other representations (p. 10). Second, the concept of assemblage foregrounds how these 'conflicting representations' do not just clash, but also alter one another along trajectories of dialogic transformation. This work emphasizes how assemblages are processual, have historical inertia that grooves present circumstances and future possibilities, and produce collaborative forms of 'agentivity' where "creatures of different species, become, one for another, and one with another companion agents" (Despret, 2013, p. 29). In sum, assemblages direct focus to the strategic efforts of wildlife conservation and tourism actors to circulate language, ideas, practices, discourses, bodies, and objects through the material world. But when discourses of wildlife are actually made to circulate through the material world, they do not travel undisturbed and unchanged, but rub up against other objects, bodies, discourses, and practices along the way, becoming transformed in the process (Jones, 2008; Kaplan & Kelly, 1994; Pigg 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Tsing, 2005; Latour, 1999). As this dissertation explores, the human-sea turtle interactions at Laniākea Beach are not just a site of interdiscursive or intercultural contact or conflict, but a site where syncretic, hybrid, polyglot, and more-than-

human spaces of *interculturality* are being produced. This theoretical perspective informs my analyses in the empirical chapters (chapters 4, 5 and 6).

1.6 Organization of the dissertation

In chapter 1, I situated this research within the broader turn towards the sociolinguistics of mobility exploring how globalization has reoriented language research towards issues of circulation, interculturality and materiality that disrupt traditional boundaries around language, culture and community. I then reviewed the critical research on human-wildlife discourse and interaction I will use to inform my dissertation. In Chapter 2, I provide a historical background of sea turtle conservation and tourism at Laniākea Beach, examining how these two institutional projects converged at the beach. In Chapter 3, I provide the methodological details of this dissertation, an overview of the context, participants data, as well as on my positionality during my fieldwork at Laniākea Beach.

Chapters 4 through 6 provide analyses of the empirical data of this dissertation. In chapter 4, I begin with an examination of the discourse itineraries of sea turtle tourism at Laniākea Beach. This chapter traces three *circuits* through which a discourse sea turtle tourism circulates: mediatized representations of sea turtles in sea turtle tourism advertisements, embodied interaction at the beach, and remediated photos uploaded by tourists to social media. In chapter 5, I examine how volunteers are trained as honu guardians to use a discourse genre of sea turtle outreach, and how they circulate this discourse genre through their interactions as well as the material and semiotic landscape. In chapter 6, I shift the focus to sea turtles themselves as objects of stance-taking, asking how they become sites around which intercultural at the beach is produced. I argue that affective and epistemic stance-taking towards sea turtles is an important site to investigate how cultural identities and communities are produced around sea turtles. I show how the divergent stances of knowledge and emotion that volunteers and tourists take towards sea turtles are not just reflective of cultural difference but are key sites around which interculturality itself is produced, sustained and transformed. Finally, in Chapter 7, I discuss the major findings and implications of this research and suggest potential directions for future research in this area for sociolinguistics and applied linguistics.

CHAPTER 2
BACKGROUND

"It's a mess up there [at Laniākea Beach]. Whose fault? Whose fault? Tourists! It's all about the tourists that's what it is. They get 'em on the aircrafts, they get 'em all over. And who gets affected? We! The people that lives down here! If they would stop their tourist thing over there, all turtle tourists go away."

– Local community member speaking at a town hall meeting held to address traffic at Laniākea Beach in 2013.

"It's all people-management. We just manage people's behavior around turtles. We're not managing turtles. Turtles are doing what they're doing"

– Irene Kelly, NOAA Fisheries, Sea Turtle Recovery Coordinator for the Pacific Islands Region.

"[Laniākea] is a roadside zoo…a roadside attraction that has that has inklings of a roadside zoo. If people think they're going to see turtles in the wild, which is commonly bragged about, they're not seeing turtles in the wild they're seeing a million people and a few turtles sleeping on the beach"

– George Balazs, Golden Honu Services of Oceania, co-founder of 'Show Turtles Aloha'

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I offer a brief history of sea turtle conservation and tourism activities in Hawai'i, and specifically at Laniākea Beach, situating the interactions between tourists and sea turtle conservation volunteers at this beach in the wider context of sea turtle conservation and tourism practices in Hawai'i. On the North Shore of O'ahu, at Laniākea beach, (see map in figure 2.1 below) a growing number of Hawaiian green sea turtles, a threatened species in

Hawai‘i, can be found most days resting on the warm sand for several hours at a time. This sea turtle behavior at Laniākea Beach is a relatively recent phenomenon, at least on record, emerging over the past 20 years. The Hawaiian green sea turtle population had been substantially decimated due to unregulated fishing and over-consumption practices up to the 1970s in Hawai‘i (Balazs & Chaloupka, 2003; Balazs, et al., 2015). However, in 1978, the Hawaiian green sea turtle was officially listed as a threatened species under the Endangered Species Act of 1973 (ESA), bringing with this designation an institutional conservation apparatus aimed at protecting the green sea turtle from extinction. Running in parallel with these conservation efforts has been a rapidly emerging global wildlife tourism industry. This industry capitalizes on widespread cultural fascinations with wildlife by commoditizing up close experiences with certain charismatic species as exhilarating encounters with wild nature. Today, at Laniākea Beach, people's interactions with sea turtles are caught up in the historical inertia of these two conservation and tourism forces, finding themselves situated at the nexus of conflicting ideas and tensions about sea turtles. In short, the Hawaiian green sea turtle has become a key site where conservation practices centered around the green sea turtle intersect with contested ecological, cultural and politics understandings of what conservation and protection should look are continually being contested as people imagine what human-sea turtle relations should look like now and in the future in Hawai‘i.

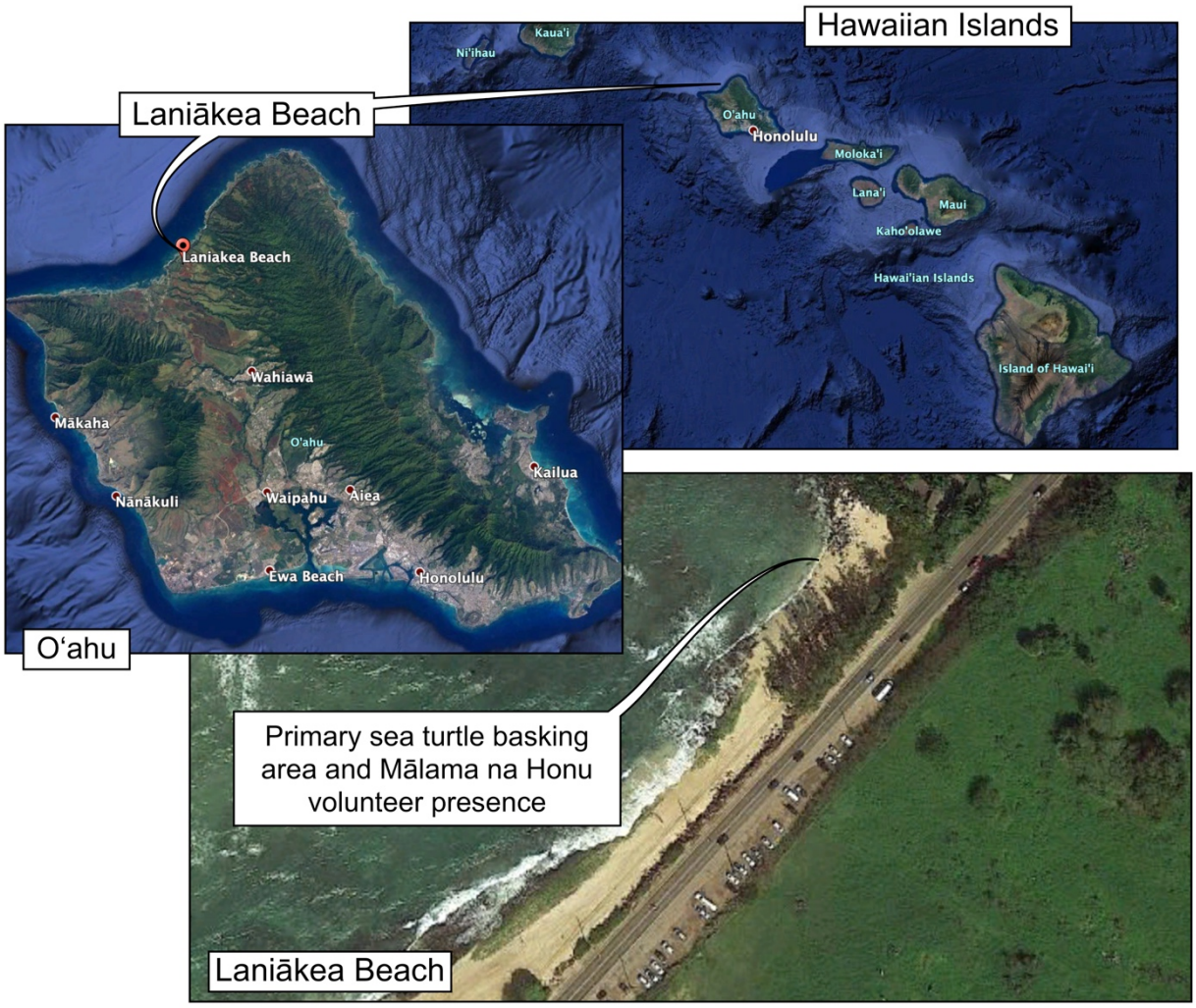


Figure 2.1 Map of Laniākea Beach on the island of O'ahu, Hawai'i

Figure 2.2 A basking sea turtle at Laniākea Beach

In providing a brief overview of the historical trajectories of sea turtle tourism and conservation discourses and practices that converge at the nexus of human-sea turtle interaction at Laniākea Beach, I show how these trajectories are produced by social actors – conservation officials, volunteers, tour industries and tourists, local community members, and other stakeholders at the beach – who are invested in participating in, sustaining, or resisting these trajectories of sea turtle conservation and tourism. The pervasiveness of representations of Laniākea Beach as a sea turtle tourism destination manifests in tourism advertisements in free print magazines found along the streets of major tourist centers like Waikīkī, on online websites promoting turtle tours, in guidebooks, and destination review websites like TripAdvisor and especially on social media, notably Facebook and Instagram.[5] At the same time, state and federal conservation officials with the National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and

[5] While sea turtles can frequently be found passing through Waikīkī, the primary basking areas of sea turtles on O‘ahu are primarily located on the North Shore, and in particular conglomerating around the Laniākea area (see figure 2.3 below). While sea turtles can be found foraging in nearshore waters in areas around O‘ahu, they only tend to bask in a small number of these areas, and particularly on the North Shore. The current hypothesis for this is that the beaches where they bask are places where their algal food supply is not in sufficient abundance (George Balazs, personal communication).

NOAA Fisheries in Hawai‘i, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (USFWS), the Hawai‘i Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) all circulate a set of discourses that represent sea turtles as a threatened and legally protected species through various online and offline channels.

As I argue in more detail chapter 4, the tourism industry in Hawai‘i strategically crafts a discourse of sea turtles as emblems of *spectacular nature* (Davis 1997). Examining how sea turtles are spectacularized – framed as entertaining spectacles of wild nature for a human audience – reveals how a discourse of spectacular nature is part and parcel of a wider set of tourism discourses about nature, multifaceted discursive assemblages sometimes referred to as the *environmental tourist gaze* (Urry 1992), or more specifically when wildlife are involved, the *zoological gaze* (Franklin 1999). These two terms not only bring focus the complex representational assemblages about wildlife and nature that shape how tourists *see* sea turtles. They also draw attention to the profound influence the global nature-based tourism industry has had on shaping people's everyday imaginings and experiences of wildlife and nature, whether encountered in captive settings like zoos, or in wild spaces. The tourism industry in Hawai‘i strategically crafts this sea turtle tourist gaze to some degree in their marketing efforts. But discourse analyses of wildlife tourism cannot ignore that much of tourists' desire to encounter wildlife in the first place is derived from a much wider discursive terrain of nature representations associated with global conservation movements efforts over the past several decades to spectacularize wildlife in order to save them (Lorimer 2015). Sea turtle conservation practices in Hawai‘i are connected to a broader set of political, governmental, legal and scientific discourses of nature management and protection practices in the United States, practices which scholars have connected to a deep-seated ecocultural ideology of American wilderness that envisions protecting wild nature as keeping people out of it (Cronon, 1996; Milstein 2016). In the sections below, my broader aim is to show how these two sets of global ecotourism and American conservation discourses have not only converged in human-sea turtle relations in Hawa‘i, co-shaping one another over the past several decades. In addition, at Laniākea Beach, sea turtle tourism and conservation are perhaps better viewed as an assemblage of tourism and conservation activities that blur into one another in complex and dynamic ways. This dissertation takes up one aspect of this *discursive bending and blending* (Bhatia, 1993) of wildlife

conservation/ecotourism discourses and practices, manifesting in the global emergence of volunteer-based community activist groups like Mālama na Honu, the focal organization of this dissertation, that endeavor to protect sea turtles and educate tourists at the same time at Laniākea Beach and at other popular sea turtle tourism beaches across the Hawaiian Islands.

2.2 Hawaiian green sea turtle conservation in Hawai‘i and at Laniākea Beach

2.2.1 The Hawaiian green sea turtle: Status of the species

The green sea turtle (*chelonia mydas*) is the most abundant large marine herbivore in the world, located circumtropically around the globe and has been both a traditional food source in communities throughout its range, as well exploited extensively by commercial fisheries as the primary culprit in decimating the global population. The Hawaiian Green sea turtle is a genetically disjunct breeding population with around 90% of all green sea turtle nesting sites located in the French Frigate Shoals in the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands, and with foraging grounds, basking areas, but also an increasing numbers of nesting sites located on the Main Hawaiian Islands (see figure 2.3 for major basking sites on O‘ahu). Once severely depleted, research over the past 40 years on the Hawaiian green sea turtle shows that the population is steadily on its way to recovery, increasing in population abundance at a rate of about 5.4% every year (Balazs et al. 2015). This success in the recovery the species has been primarily attributed to the legal prohibition of commercial exploitation of juvenile and adult sea turtles after being listed first under Hawai‘i state protection laws in 1974, and then under the Endangered Species Act in 1978 (Balazs and Chaloupka 2004; Piacenza et al. 2016).

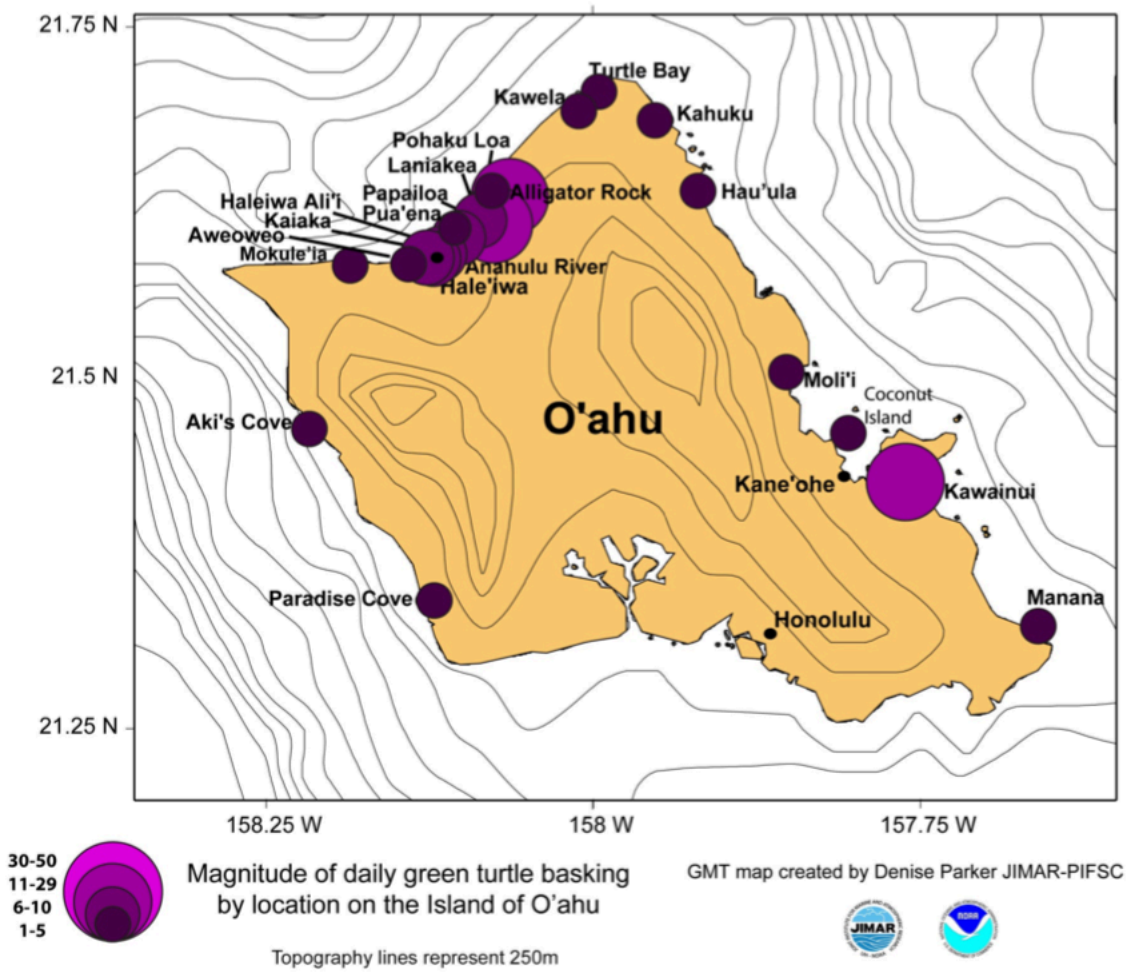
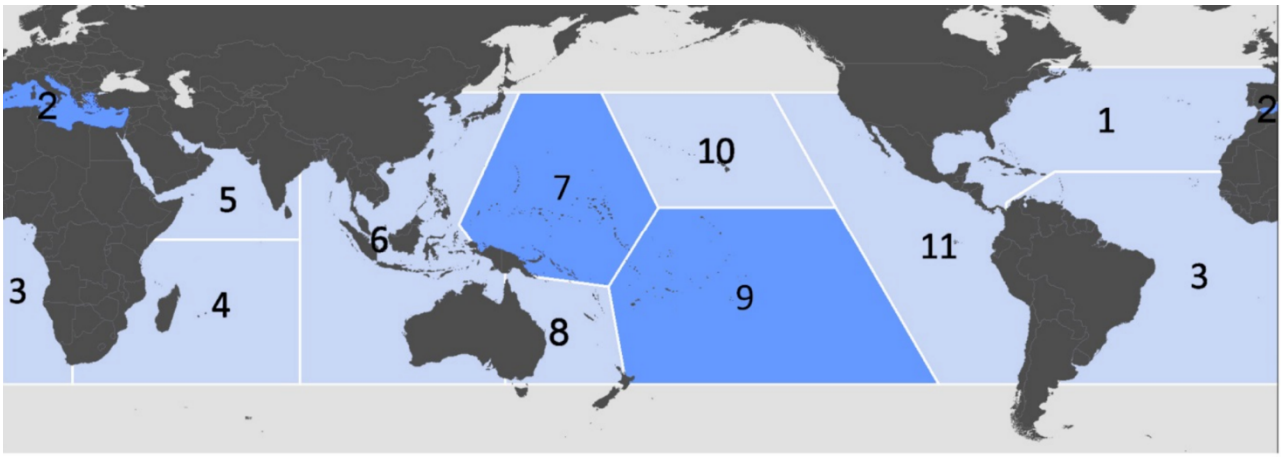


Figure 2.3: Primary daily basking areas located on the island O‘ahu, Hawai’i (September 2016). *Adopted from ‘Data mapping product by NOAA-PIFSC Marine Turtle Assessment and Biology Program by Denise Parker and George Balazs September 2016’*[6]

In recent years, emerging scientific evidence of this promising recovery trend of the green sea turtle population in Hawai’i has prompted a flurry of debate around whether sea turtles can now be delisted from the ESA. A key event in sparking discussions of delisting the species came on February 16, 2012, when the National Marine Fisheries Service (NMFS) and the Fish and Wildlife Service (FWS) received a petition from the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs (AOHCC) to identify the Hawaiian green sea turtle as a distinct population segment (DPS) and then to delist it. This petition argued for returning the green sea turtle to Hawai‘i State

[6] Retrieved May 1, 2019 from: https://georgehbalazs.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/HawaiianIs_2016-PIFSC-ForagingDataMappingProduct.pdf

management, with one major reason being to allow Native Hawaiians to sustainably hunt sea turtles again for ceremonial and consumptive purposes, which is currently illegal under the ESA. Later that year in 2012, NMFS and FWS responded to the petition, finding that it provided substantial scientific evidence warranting the possibility of delisting the species as a DPS, and assembled a status review team of experts to make a decision based on the 'best available science' at the time (Seminoff et al. 2015; see Lowell & Kelly (2016) for a critical discussion of agency use of 'best available science' under the ESA). Up to this point, green sea turtles had been listed as a globally threatened species, except for the breeding populations along the Florida and Mexico coastlines which were listed as endangered.[7] The outcome of this review process was the establishment of 11 new DPS's for the green sea turtle in 2016 (see figure 2.4 below), with Hawaiian green sea turtles categorized as DPS 10. However, the status review team rejected the claim that the Hawaiian green sea turtle had adequately recovered to warrant delisting from the ESA.



Threatened (light blue) and endangered (dark blue) green turtle distinct population segments (DPSs):
1. North Atlantic, 2. Mediterranean, 3. South Atlantic, 4. Southwest Indian, 5. North Indian, 6. East Indian-West Pacific, 7. Central West Pacific,8. Southwest Pacific, 9. Central South Pacific, 10. Central North Pacific, and 11. East Pacific.

Figure 2.4: Green sea turtle Distinct Population Segments (DPS). *Hawaiian green sea turtles are the distinct breeding population located in region 10 – 'threatened'. Adopted from NOAA.*[8]

[7] Under the ESA, 'endangered' is defined as "any species which is in danger of extinction throughout all or a significant portion of its range" and a 'threatened' species as one "which is likely to become an endangered species within the foreseeable future throughout all or a significant portion of its range" (ESA; 16 U.S.C. § 1532)

[8] The final ruling on establishing a DPS for the Hawaiian green sea turtle can be found here (Retrieved April 3, 2019): https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2016/04/06/2016-07587/endangered-and-threatened-wildlife-and-plants-final-rule-to-list-eleven-distinct-population-segments

Providing a full account of the scientific and public consultation process involved in the transition to a DPS for Hawaiian green sea turtles is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, perusing through the various legal documents, testimony, scientific papers, press releases, local news and more reveals a remarkable intersection of political, governmental, legal, scientific, environmental protection, animal rights and traditional knowledge discourses entangled with the question of whether to (de)list sea turtles from the ESA. A brief review of testimony submitted during the public consultative process required when any delisting of an endangered or threatened species is proposed reveals a general opposition to delisting. Throughout this testimony, both 'scientific' and 'animal welfare' discourses were enlisted in the arguments people with different credentialed backgrounds (e.g. scientists, NGO staff, government employees, concerned citizens) made to mostly oppose but also support delisting (see Heise 2016).[9]

Generally speaking, scientists arguing for continued listing of green sea turtles under the ESA presented themselves as cold and rational 'species thinkers' (Chrulew 2011), concerned about the conservation of more abstract entities like biodiversity and genetic stock of a species rather than inconsequential losses of individual members. On the other hand, a discourse of animal welfare is pervasive in public comments explicitly admitting that their position to protect sea turtles is 'emotional' or 'sentimental' (e.g. unscientific) but still valid. Both of these discourses often blend together in environmental protection discourses, and appear to often be set in opposition to traditional knowledge discourses (e.g. Native Hawaiian discourses of natural resource sovereignty). For example, the commentary of Peter Bennett and Ursula Keuper-Bennett, who have documented sea turtle behavior for over two decades as scuba divers on Maui, as well as authoring a popular sea turtle educational book (Bennett & Keuper-Bennett 2008) that is provided to new Malama na Honu volunteers, enlists both of these discourse to frame their testimony as reluctant support for delisting the green sea turtle: "Our affection for the honu means that of course we don't want to see them hunted. If, however, their numbers have recovered to the point where a regulated harvest would not threaten the overall population, then

[9] HCR14 (measure to delist the Hawaiian green sea turtle) and accompanying testimony can be found at the following website (Retrieved April 3, 2019): https://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/Archives/measure_indiv_Archives.aspx?billtype=HCR&billnumber=14&year=2013

we find it hard to oppose. Our objections would be strictly emotional, not scientific…[10] As Van Dooren (2014) argues, scientific discourse "tends to present conservationists as cold and unethical, while simultaneously creating a veneer of objectivity around their particular goals, which are presented as being those of 'conservation science,' not personal values. Instead, I understand this situation as a site of overlapping regimes of care…conservationists may more readily be understood as pursuing a different caring project, no less value driven than that of welfare activists" (p. 108). As I explore in this dissertation, in the case of sea turtle conservation in Hawai'i, and at Laniākea Beach in particular, scientists, volunteers, tourists and local members of the community embrace complex, overlapping, and often conflictive 'regimes of care.' This dissertation seeks to chart some of the discursive threads that compose these regimes of sea turtle care in the chapters to follow.

My aim here is not to provide a full overview of argumentation in the scientific review and public consultative process on delisting the Hawaiian green sea turtle, but to flag two key issues involved. The first had to do with climate change as a major risk to the future recovery of green sea turtles. A primary reason these agencies gave for deciding *not* to delist the species was the threat of climate change, and in particular the threat of climate-induced sea level rise that could inundate the main nesting beaches in the French Frigate Shoals where over 90% of Hawaiian green sea turtles currently nest. As the co-authors of the final ruling for maintaining the threatened status of the Hawaiian green sea turtle under the ESA, state, "The capacity for green turtles to quickly adapt [to climate change] is questionable because they are long-lived and late maturing, and the species has previously evolved in a climate that changed at a much slower rate than projections suggest for the next 100 years…based on the best available scientific and commercial data, we conclude that the effects of climate change present a threat to all green turtle DPSs" (Federal Registry, 2016, p. 20064). However, George Balazs, a co-author of the scientific status review of green sea turtles (Seminoff et al. 2015) submitted the following testimony on September 30, 2015: "The principal reason given relating to the proposed rule making for DPS 10 is climate-change induced sea level rise, hence eventual submergence of nesting beaches at French Frigate Shoals. This opinion runs oppositional to the fact that green

[10] Commentary retrieved January 15, 2019 from: http://www.seaturtle.org/mtn/archives/mtn148/mtn148-1.shtml

turtles are highly resilient and adaptable resulting in short and long term successful nesting beach and other changes for millennia. The rationale simply "does not hold water" in that no science-based information of support was presented in the rule-making proposal."[11]

Assessing the scientific support for these conflicting statements about the potential risks presented by climate change for sea turtles and the resiliency of sea turtles to adapt to these risks is much beyond my discussion here, but juxtaposing these statements provides some indication of the heady times of socioecological change sea turtle conservation scientists are currently operating in. Anthropogenic climate change is muddling more traditional measures of species conservation success, for example establishing determination of historical baselines to measure recovery. For example, while Kittenger et al. (2013) argue that "[c]onservation planning should take into account these historical dynamics in assessing population status and developing historically-referenced recovery targets" (p. 871), conservationists are also grappling with the proliferation of 'novel ecosystems' (Hobbs, Higgs, & Harris, 2009) that no longer resemble or even allow for the return to desired past natures. As Alagona et al. (2012) argue, "[r]estoration requires historical baseline targets, but all such targets are arbitrary for ecosystems that are constantly changing and have always been doing so. This problem is compounded by the fragmentary, selective, and ambiguous nature of the historical record" (p. 65). Wildlife conservationists are far from an ideological homogenous group, but are conflicted on what forms species conservation should take, views that are becoming more diverse and conflicted in an unprecedented time of global human-induced ecological transformation increasingly being referred to as the Anthropocene.[12]

The second concern involves Native Hawaiian claims to resource management and self-determined conservation governance. Mawyer and Jacka (2018) argue in reviewing debates about sovereignty and conservation regimes shaping island futures, "the active question of who

[11] Comment from (retrieved May 1, 2019) https://georgehbalazs.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/Balazs-comments-2.pdf

[12] The Future of Conservation project, funded by the Cambridge Conservation Initiative Collaborative Fund, recently conducted a survey of conservationists around the world revealing some of the primary convergences and divergences in perspectives informing debates about the future of conservation in light of growing recognition of global ecological degradation, biodiversity loss, and climate change. (Retrieved April 5, 2019): http://futureconservation.org/about-the-debate

has sovereignty over nature is always in the background of conservation decision-making. At the core of this complex question is: who after all has the right to choose environmental futures?" (p. 1). A key motive of the petition to delist the Hawaiian green sea turtle involved the recognition of rights of Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners to sustainably harvest sea turtles for ceremonial and consumptive purposes. However, as Scollon (2008) reminds us, "[a]n animal which has been categorized as one of an endangered species has sometimes been the boundary object that links these two discourses [environmental protection and traditional knowledge] in adversarial conflict" (p. 90). Testimony from the public in support of delisting the green sea turtle cited the example of Native Alaskans' rights to practice whale hunting. However, in responding to this argument, co-authors of the final ruling argued that "those provisions are specific to Alaskan Natives and permanent residents of Alaskan native villages. They provide no basis for authorizing take [e.g. hunting] in any other context. The statute contains no other exceptions for cultural or subsistence take. Modifications to the statute to recognize additional exemptions are beyond our authority" (Final rule to list eleven distinct population segments of the green sea turtle, 2016, p. 20062).

This statement reveals the two poles of conservation that policy and local community dialogues are adhered to. At one pole is a formal concept of conservation practices, *sensu stricto*, which is often encoded in Western environmental protection laws to safeguard 'Nature' from destructive human impact. At the other pole is a notion of conservation, *sensu amplo*, that is not about nature protection in the strictest sense, but about more diverse, localized efforts "to sustainably maintain ongoing engagements with the local environment and its resources in a manner that promotes the resilience of that environment and the traditional or otherwise community-based values and practices orientated towards imagined or imaginable environmental futures inclusive of how the community envisions its place in the world" (Mawyer & Jacka 2018, p. 3).[13] Finding the policy space needed for the ESA to navigate between these two poles will be

[13] These two poles of the environmental conservation spectrum manifest in emerging philosophical and policy debates about conservation in the Anthropocene. These contrasting poles of for what conservation should look like emerge, for example, with movements like the 'Half-Earth project' (https://www.half-earthproject.org/) and 'Nature Needs Half' (https://natureneedshalf.org/) on the one hand (conservation *sensu stricto*), and on the other hand, with the 'New Conservation' (https://thebreakthrough.org/) movements (conservation *sensu amplo*). More recently, there are efforts to forge a middle path through these two poles (e.g. Wapner 2013) (see also the 'convivial conservation' movement

increasingly vital to the collaboriative and convivial forms of conseravtion practices needed for cultivating life-sustaining, and socially just environmental futures for humans and nonhumans alike. But this remains an ambiguous policy space that current implementation of the ESA appears too rigid to incorporate (see discussion of 'harassment' below).

2.2.2 The nexus of sea turtle conservation and tourism in Hawai'i

In a 1973 report in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, a science journalist writes "Green sea turtles are destined to become a rare and possibly extinct species if they continue disappearing form the ocean and into the bellies of tourists." George Balazs, a Hawai'i-based sea turtle scientist who did the first comprehensive population study of breeding green sea turtles at the French Frigate Shoals, and was instrumental as an early advocate for passing laws to protect the Hawaiian green sea turtle, is quoted in this article attributing the threat to sea turtle extinction as due in large part to increasing sea turtle catches to satisfy tourists' desire for an "exotic luxury food." Speaking at the first public hearing on protecting the green sea turtle in Hawai'i, he is further quoted as saying: "It is interesting to note, that the pounds of turtles taken since 1963, follows increasing trends in tourism, and that much of the incentive to exploit sea turtles is provided by restaurants and hotels that depend on tourism for the business…the turtles that could have been captured for home use to provide additional meat will now be all the more difficult to find" (Benson, 1973, cited in Davidson 2003, pp. 39-40). However, by 1974, due in large part to Balazs' advocating, public opinion had shifted to the point that the green sea turtle was finally listed under state law as a protected species, and by 1978, had federal protection under the Endangered Species Act. After decades of absence, the first green sea turtles starting to show up at Laniākea Beach in the late 1990's, a signal that sea turtle conservation efforts may indeed be working.

I begin with this quote from George Balazs for three reasons. First, it highlights the deep entanglement of conservation and tourism practices centered around the green sea turtle since the plight of the species was first brought to public awareness in the early 1970's, awareness which finally led to the 1978 federal listing of sea turtles as a "threatened" species protected under the U.S. Endangered Species Act of 1973. Second, it reveals how radically conservation discourse

(https://convivialconservation.com/). Wildlife conservation in the Anthropocene will increasingly be characterized by debates about environmental futures across this spect

about sea turtle tourism has changed over the intervening 40 years, from protecting the species from being over-eaten by tourists, to today, protecting the species from being over-coddled by tourists. Finally, George also expresses a philosophy of sea turtle conservation that embraces a broader ecological approach which not only includes protection of the species, but also, and more controversially, sustainable harvesting of sea turtles that would allow for communities that have histories of co-habitation and consumption of sea turtles, such as Native Hawaiians, to eat them.[14] Currently, any consumption, domestication or farming of green sea turtles is illegal under the ESA and in Hawai‘i, violations are strictly enforced by NOAA, Fish and Wildlife and the Department of Land and Natural Resource (DLNR).

The point I want to make here is that Balazs's perspective, which sits in tension with current implementations of sea turtle protection policy under the ESA, and as managed and enforced by the National Marine Fisheries branch of NOAA, is meant to provide an initial indication of the different, and often conflicting eco-political values and philosophies around the question of what human interactions with sea turtles should look like in Hawai‘i today. As I examine throughout this dissertation, this tension around what healthy human-sea turtle relations should actually look like in practice is reflective of the broader terrain of philosophies about wildlife and nature that different stakeholders, such as volunteers and tourists, display towards sea turtles as they continually re-imagine identities and communities in relation to the sea turtles increasingly inhabiting Hawai‘i's beaches today.

In her examination of the legalities of the ESA in relation to the volunteer practices at Laniākea Beach to protect sea turtles from touching and crowding, Nichols (2006) argues that, "[t]he pivotal question is: does the ESA apply to low impact interactions between humans and turtles?" And if it does not, she goes on to consider, should the ESA itself be revised, or instead is it possible that the "Laniākea situation demonstrates an appropriate limitation to federal statutory oversight that allows community activism to pick up where the ESA leaves off?" (p.

[14] However, once the U.S. government listed green sea turtles as threatened, any forms of domestication, farming, or sustainable use as part of broader conservation strategy were no longer up for debate (Rieser 2012). Tensions around sustainable consumption of sea turtles as part of a comprehensive conservation strategy continue to shape political debate in the sea turtle conservation community today, where scientists, resource management officials, and activists hold multifaceted and often contradictory philosophical orientations towards what sea turtle conservation should look now and going forward.

413). The definition of harassment in the ESA is as follows: "*Harass* in the definition of "take" in the Act means an intentional or negligent act or omission which creates the likelihood of injury to wildlife by annoying it to such an extent as to significantly disrupt normal behavioral patterns which include, but are not limited to, breeding, feeding, or sheltering" (ESA, 16 U.S.C. § 17.3). Nichols (2006) argues that the ESA should be revised to further disambiguate the statutory the language of harassment involving low-impact interactions such as touching and crowding sea turtles in order to provide clearer enforcement guidelines.[15]

The issue I foreground here has centered on whether low-impact human activities – touching, feeding, crowding – must be prevented to protect a species. The primary efforts of the agencies tasked with sea turtle protection – the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) and Fish & Wildlife – have focused on preventing exploitation of sea turtles from commercial fishing at sea, in nearshore fishing zones, or lethal takes of sea turtles basking on land. But with the rise of sea turtle tourism in Hawai‘i, where tourists seek out close up and even physical encounters with sea turtles, a more problematic and ambiguous issue has arisen for these agencies: should their already scarce resources be expended to prevent encounters that do not involve lethal outcomes for the animal, but may involve various degrees of wildlife "harassment"?

This question is compounded by the fact that the legal grounds for these agencies to actually regulate low-impact violations between people and sea turtles is ambiguous in the statues of the Endangered Species Act. As Irene Kelly, the Sea Turtle Recovery Coordinator for

[15] One problem here, however, is that claiming that a behavior constitutes harassment requires evidence to prove that a human action 'disrupts normal behavior patterns' of sea turtles. But complicating this is the fact that green sea turtles are not a behaviorally homogenous species, but display a spectrum of adaptations and habituations to the nearshore and human-inhabited beach environments they are recruited to, for example, with some individuals displaying more 'bold' behaviors and others more 'timid' behaviors around humans (Griffin et al. 2017). In other words, what might constitute normal behavior for one turtle is not necessarily normal for another, so to enforce harassment, *sensu stricto*, will necessarily involve applying a one-size fits all enforcement policy for the diversity of human-sea turtle co-habitation practices inevitably taking shape along Hawai‘i's beaches, a policy sure to cause friction across local communities that have co-developed a diverse range of proximal relations with the sea turtles they co-inhabit littoral spaces with . This is a fraught legal area of the ESA but for one example of how the definition of harass in the ESA has been debated and applied, see State *v.* Cullen, 2012: https://www.courtlistener.com/opinion/2299862/state-v-cullen/

the Pacific Islands Region of NOAA Fisheries clarified, touching sea turtles is "not really illegal because ESA doesn't define it as illegal. We don't really have a working definition of harassment and that is very frustrating." While green sea turtles are federally protected as threatened under the ESA, when considering actions that do not involve killing, maiming or relocating the species (e.g. a 'take'), enforcement guidelines are far from clear, and are left to the discretion of local agencies to disambiguate. For example, figure 2.5 below illustrates the three categories of turtle-human interaction that may or may not constitute a criminal offense (adapted from Nichols 2006).

	← Low Impact		High Impact →
Category	Level 3 (crowd)	Level 2 (touch)	Level 1 (maim)
Type of violation	*not a violation*	*legal gray area*	*violation of the ESA and Hawai'i law*
Description of violating behavior	chronic, non-contact activities - such as constant crowding.	light touching, briefly placing a small child on the turtle, or briefly standing in the way of the turtle as it attempts to exit the water	killing, maiming, throwing or removing a turtle from the beach
Authority and ambiguity of violation	Disturbance of "resting" not a violation.	Interaction must qualify as "harm" or "harassment." Crowding around and lightly touching a turtle, without more aggressive behavior, is not harm or harassment (DLNR & NOAA).	DLNR and NOAA have the authority to prevent such interactions, NOAA is the lead enforcement agency.
Enforcement or intervention	Community Outreach		
	State Action		
	Federal Action		

Figure 2.5 Ambiguity of ESA regulations. Solid line means clear role, dotted line means ambiguous role. Adapted from Nichols (2006)

Level 1 constitutes a clear lethal or harmful violation ("killing, maiming or throwing" a green sea turtle) however anything less severe falls into a legal gray area of enforcement measures to be taken. What this all means is that there is *no legal minimum distance* that can be enforced between people and sea turtles. While lower impact violations such as touching, crowding or picking up sea turtles could in theory be enforced – and in fact have been enforced

successfully with a prominent case circulated in local news media in 2017[16] – the resources these agencies would need to constantly conduct such surveillance and enforcement operations, such as hiring extra staff to patrol beaches across the state, is prohibitive, especially in the current political climate of funding cuts to agencies tasked with protecting wildlife and the natural environment in the United States (as of early 2019). In addition, in my conversations with agency officials tasked with regulating harmful human-sea turtle interaction, there was a sentiment that the tremendous amount of resources and time needed to bring a low-impact violation to justice was just not worth it considering the agencies' already scare funds. Enforcement of non-lethal harassment would require a need for photographic or video evidence of the violation, as well as the scientific evidence required to prove a piece of human behavior did in fact harm the turtle in some way. As one sea turtle and marine mammal enforcement officer put it to me while I was volunteering at Laniākea Beach, "do you think a judge who deals with drug crimes and murders all day is going to want to spend time on a tourist who touched a turtle?"

As this comment suggests, NOAA staff and enforcement officers I talked to over the course of my research that were involved in state and federal sea turtle management efforts generally shared the perspective that tourists touching sea turtles was not a major threat to the species, but more a point of controversy in the local community and media. In other words, while the state and federal staff I talked to indicated their recognition that tourists' crowding, feeding, touching, or engaging in other behavior that might be categorized as harassment of an endangered species under the ESA was not a lethal threat to the survival of green sea turtles, it was nonetheless important to encourage 'respectful' relations between tourists and sea turtles as both tourist arrivals and sea turtle populations continue to grow in Hawai'i. This institutional perspective on tourist-sea turtle relations enlisted a set of discourses involving a scientific discourse of sea turtle conservation suggesting the species was recovering successfully, with the population increasing about 5.4% every year.

[16] "Visitors fined for holding endangered turtle on Hawaii beach" (Retrieved December 15, 2017): https://www.khon2.com/news/local-news/visitors-fined-for-holding-endangered-turtle-on-hawaii-beach/1012620424

In other words, one set of sea turtle conservation discourses that actors associated with state and federal sea turtle management and enforcement efforts mobilized to navigate the discursive landscape of human-sea turtle relations in Hawai‘i involved invoking a distinction between important lethal threats to the species, and less important non-lethal threats – tourists touching, crowding, and feeding sea turtles– but that feature much more prominently in public controversies in the media about sea turtles at Laniākea Beach. Irene Kelly in our interview together made this point while describing the primary concerns of the agency: “That’s the conundrum, right? How much money and time and effort do we spend on a perceived threat that doesn’t really seem to harm the animal, but it’s more of a public relations kind of issue. We have a human tourism issue, we don’t have a turtle issue so much.” At the same time, a contrasting public discourse that sea turtle conservation has been so successful that they are now overpopulating certain beaches in Hawai‘i, and that this conservation success is directly linked to overtourism in those areas too – and therefore the turtles should themselves be relocated or even culled – puts sea turtle management employees in a difficult position. In sum, a major challenge for Irene and other sea turtle management officials seems to be to find ways to address the myriad local and ‘situated knowledges’ (Haraway 1991) generating public opinions about threats to sea turtles, while at the same time, continuing to address the lethal threats impacting sea turtle populations in adhering to the legal mandate of the ESA.

In the excerpt below for example, the issue of this legal ambiguity around low-impact ‘harassment’ in the ESA was addressed in our discussion on local community perceptions of tourist-sea turtle interaction at Laniākea Beach:

Excerpt 2.1 What does harassment mean right?

Irene: it's [Laniākea Beach] a huge source of tension, and then all people are like, "well we should just start eating the turtles, and start culling the turtles" and it's like it's really not the turtles’ fault

Gavin: ((laughter)) yeah yeah

Irene: you know what I mean, we have a human tourist issue more than we have a turtle issue, you know what I mean, the turtles are fine, like you know, they're made to sustain tiger sharks you know what I mean like yeah we don't like to see people getting close to them and touching them and the ESA, the Endangered Species Act that they're protected by doesn't actually specify anything more than harassment, that says “don't harass.”

Gavin: that's something I wanted to ask you

Irene: what does harassment mean, right? It's a very human term

Gavin: yeah

Irene: it doesn't have a distance

As we had been discussing leading up to this excerpt, Laniākea Beach has become a "huge source of tension" in the local community on the North Shore, in part due to growing public frustration over turtle induced traffic, or 'turtle traffic,' causing daily traffic jams at Laniākea Beach as tourists park their cars illegally to cross the road throughout the day in the hopes of catching a glimpse of a sea turtle. As the only commuter road connecting the North Shore, what used to be a 10-15 minute commute has become 1, 2 and sometimes 3 hour drive for local residents. I discuss these tensions more in chapter 7, but the point I want to make here is that conservation managers and sea turtle scientists find themselves in a challenging political situation at Laniākea Beach. Here, a web of multiple divergent interests converge in the public discourse about Laniākea Beach: overtourism, the perceived harassment of sea turtles by tourists in the community, growing turtle tourism induced traffic, and even, as this official suggests in our interview, the perception among some community members that an over-population of sea turtles is the problem. In other words, for these conservation agencies, protecting sea turtles at Laniākea Beach is not just about the straightforward application of conservation science and enforcement of clear legal regulations. Rather, these agencies are navigating, and in a very real sense experimenting as they go, through an uncertain politico-legal-ecological terrain at the intersection of scientific facts, ambiguous legal regulations, local political tensions, lack of funding, and contradictory ethical values as to what healthy human interaction with sea turtles should look like in practice.

In sum, tracing the history of conservation discourse around the green sea turtle reveals not only how radically discourse has changed around this species over time, but how conservation and tourism discourses have been entangled since the very beginning of sea turtle conservation efforts. Since its listing under the ESA, the species has variously become a sought after delicacy for tourists, a symbol of environmental conservation in Hawai‘i, and a popular

charismatic 'non-consumptive' tourist attraction. Next, I situate this brief history of sea turtle conservation at Laniākea Beach in the context of a global wildlife tourism industry.

2.3 The global rise of wildlife ecotourism and sea turtle tourism at Laniākea Beach

The sea turtle tourism industry in Hawai'i involves a flood of sea turtle representations flowing through airports, hotel lobbies, television screens, streets signs, t-shirts, tourist brochures, guidebooks, websites, tour guide talk and more. Spend just a few days walking through the towns and urban areas of Hawai'i and you are likely to also see the iconic images of sea turtles appearing on bumper stickers, jewelry, t-shirts, store front logos and tattoos (see, for example, figure 2.6 below).[17]

Figure 2.6 A sticker of a surfing sea turtle stuck to a surfboard at Laniākea Beach.

[17] On a side note, when I asked a tattoo artist in Waikīkī, the tourist hub of Hawai'i, about the popularity sea turtle tattoos with tourists visiting his studio, he rolled his eyes with a flair of annoyance, telling me "90% of the tattoos I do are either palm trees or sea turtles."

In the late 1990's, the first sea turtles began showing up again at Laniākea Beach after a decades-long hiatus, crawling up onto the warm sand to sleep during the day for hours at a time. By the early 2000's, Laniākea Beach was already being marketed as "Turtle Beach" in travel guidebooks and in the local tourism industry, attracting increasing numbers of international tourists eager to experience Hawai'i's spectacular sea turtles up close and in their natural habitat (see figure 2.11 below). In the years to follow, tourists from around the world began flowing to Laniākea Beach in tour buses, rental cars, buses, bikes and mopeds in ever increasing numbers. Presently, on an average day, several thousand turtle tourists ebb and flow through a small section of beach at the north end of Laniākea Beach to encounter green sea turtles, swim with them, get selfies with them to upload to their social media following, and perhaps even touch them too.[18]

In tracing the origins of sea turtle tourism at Laniākea Beach, I situate the local sea turtle ecotourism industry within the broader historical context of a global wildlife tourism ecotourism industry. The emergence of this global tourism assemblage has radically transformed contemporary human perceptions and material relations with animals and the natural environment over the past 40 years (Milstein, 2016). Scholars of ecotourism locate the rise of a global ecotourism industry within three broad historical trends (Lorimer, 2015). First, beginning in the 1970's, and dramatically increasing in the 1980's and 1990's, neoliberal modes of state-based environmental conservation took hold. According to this critical analysis, neoliberal environmentalism frames capitalism and the market-driven commodification of human-environment relations as the solution to saving nature, rather than the cause of environmental problems. Policy-wise this is achieved through deregulating markets, privatizing public natural resources and cutting public spending on the environment.[19] Through these policy mechanisms,

[18] According to the most recent tourist count conducted by Mālama na Honu in January/February 2019, they estimated that between 480,000 and 500,000 visitors are coming to Laniākea Beach annually. This is down from estimates of 600,000 – 650,000 in years past, but this decrease is in part due to the large tour buses that used to go to Laniākea Beach in years past have more recently started delivering turtle tourists to Ali'i Beach Park and Pua'ena point – locations where sea turtles also frequent and bask – both located in the nearby town of Hale'iwa.

[19] Neoliberal environmental conservation especially accelerated with the introduction of the concept of 'biodiversity' beginning in the 1980's, a term critical scholars argue is especially conducive to neoliberal logic as it easily translates into placing exchange values on bits and pieces of nature, facilitating nature's commodified integration into global markets as 'ecosystem services.'

states have increasingly hollowed out their role in terms of accountability and delivery of environmental conservation. This has involved delegating the management of environmental problems to a vast web of NGOs, funded either through government created grant-giving bodies like NOAA or HTA in Hawai‘i, or through private donors such as corporate investments or individual memberships, but usually through some combination of both. With this, the role of the individual in environmental conservation has also dramatically shifted from a tax-paying member of civil society to an ethical citizen-consumer who gets to pick and choose which environmental issues to support (or not support).

Second, growing in parallel with this shift towards neoliberal environmentalism has also been a radical shift in the style of wildlife and nature representations circulating in the mass media. While imagery of wildlife and the natural world in print and on screen has been around for quite some time, the purpose of this imagery has shifted. As described above, NGOs have increasingly relied on generating financial support for their efforts through strategically mobilizing citizen-consumers, in addition to state-funded contracts, to supply the needed funds for their conservation portfolios. An important tactic to generate this private funding has involved cultivating and commodifying public interest in nature through emotionally compelling representations of animals and nature. One early indicator of this shift can be seen in the design of the WWF's famous Panda brand in 1961 (see figure 2.7 below):

Figure 2.7 The charismatic Panda logo of the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF).[20]

These highly-crafted, affectively-loaded representations of wildlife and nature enable NGO's and other conservation actors to strategically frame conservation problems and solutions, compelling support for their agendas through donations, or in particular, through a host of commodified nature-related products. In this dissertation, I refer to the converging assemblages of neoliberal environmental infrastructure and mass media representations of nature as a discourse of *spectacular nature* (Davis 1997).[21] Framing nature as spectacle positions humans as

[20] Originally designed by British naturalist Peter Scott in 1961, the panda was chosen for its potential wide public appeal as a 'cute and furry animal,' but also because of its black and white visuals that could be reprinted at low-cost. In this way, the WWF essentially invented the panda as a charismatic species from scratch to mobilize public appeal – and private funds – for a host environmental issues. A glance at its website today reveals the enduring power of this image to compel people to financially support environmental issues extending much beyond the protection of the panda itself, ranging from climate change to sustainable development.

[21] While on one level this discourse of spectacle can establish powerful affective connections between humans and wildlife, these connections are argued to be embedded in the global tourism industry's mass-commodification of exotic nature, an industry itself grounded in older colonial logics that Other, control, and exploit people, animals and the natural world for economic gain. As a consequence, the kinds of ecocultural knowledges, emotional connections, and power relations the discourse of spectacle makes

audience to a wild, entertaining, and importantly, commodifiable performance of animals and nature. However, critics of this discourse argue that spectacularizing animals fetishizes an artificed natural world, distancing humans from more authentic connections with animals.[22] As Lorimer (2015) puts it, "[s]pectacle encourages consumer-citizens to turn their backs on proximal ecologies and uncommodified wildlife encounters and get lost in commodified simulacra of nature" (p. 143). Worse, the expansion of a discourse of spectacular nature in the mass media is argued to obscure, and even exacerbate sociopolitical inequalities of environmental problems.

Finally, these two trends have led to a third shift, involving the emergence of a particularly lucrative type of nature-related product: ecotourism. Here I will refer to ecotourism as an umbrella term for nature-based tourism more generally, regardless of how ethical or sustainable it actually is (see Adams 2004). But it is also important to recognize that ecotourism in tourism studies is also associated with a more narrow category of ethical and educational nature-based tourism too. For example, Novelli, Barnes & Humavindu (2006) define ecotourism as involving "[e]ducation and interpretation of the natural environment together with cultural aspects, often linked to conservation practices" (p. 65) (see also Fenell, 2015). This narrower distinction between ethical forms of wildlife-based ecotourism and wildlife/nature-based tourism more generally is usefully captured in figure 2.8 below. Critical studies of ecotourism describe how, as a discursive formation, it fits well into this process of neoliberalizing human-environment relations. As Duffey (2008) points out "because it neatly intersects with notions of rolling back the state, use of the market for environmental management, and the engagement of non-state actors" (p. 15; see also McAfee, 1999). As Lorimer (2015) further suggests, it is useful to understand ecotourism as emerging from the 'experience economy' (Pine & Gilmore, 1998), involving a more general transition in global markets from selling physical products and services to staging emotional and memorable experiences.[23] Initially, ecotourism was fueled by a growing

possible for human relations with animals and nature appear to be at best, superficial and anthropocentric, and at worst, socially and environmentally damaging.

[22] This critique draws on Guy Debord's (1967/2012) notion of the 'society of spectacle' to critically analyze people's alienation from more authentic experiences with animals and nature through the commodity fetish of wildlife representation.

[23] Places like Sea World, for example, have skillfully converged both tangible products such as gift shop items and intangible, emotional products such as the Shamu show, all woven together into the space of a

niche-market of ‘nature lovers’ who had been stewing for some time in the televised and print-based representations of spectacular nature permeating the mass media. These were primarily wealthy, white and Western individuals engaging in elite forms of travel, and keen to pay for up close, in the flesh experiences of spectacular wildlife and nature they had only encountered in magazines or on television. Franklin and Crang (2001) make this point succinctly, arguing that “Touristic culture is more than the physical travel, it is the preparation of people to see other places as objects of tourism” and it is for this reason that “the touristic gaze and imaginary shape and mediate our knowledge of and desires about the rest of the planet (p. 10). In this sense, a discourse of spectacular nature has been central to the emergence of wildlife-based ecotourism through the commodification of thrilling embodied human encounters with nonhuman nature. This is especially apparent in the ecotourism industry’s efforts to strategically craft the spectacular imagery of ‘charismatic’ species like pandas, tigers, elephants, and as I examine more below, sea turtles.

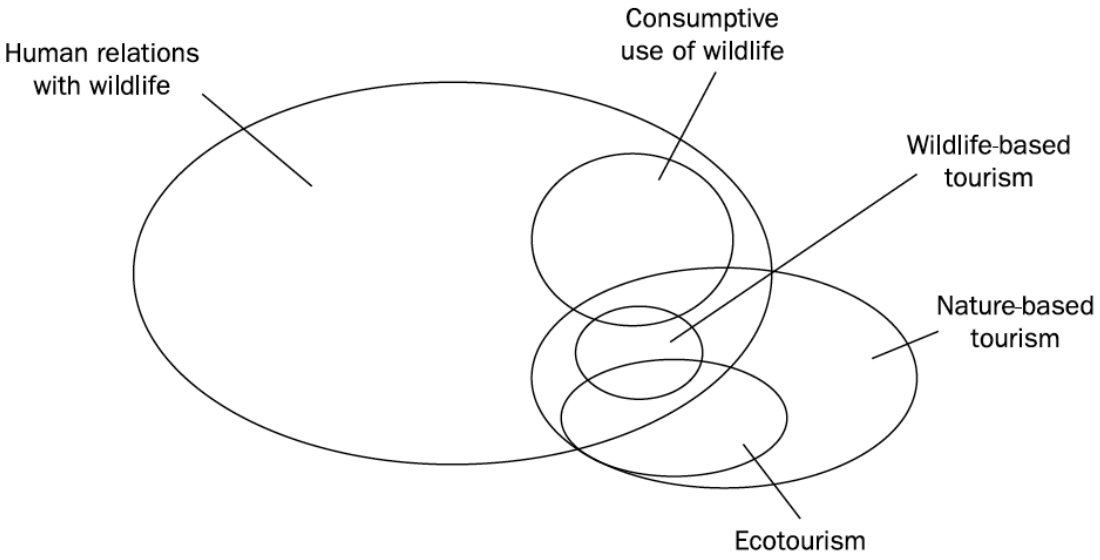


Figure 2.8 Relation between wildlife-based tourism and wildlife ecotourism: *adopted from Reynolds and Braithwaite (2001)*

corporate amusement park. Here captive orcas used to perform for an audience (Davis, 1997). Increasing scrutiny and criticism has been directed at Sea World for capturing and holding captive orcas, but they fire back with claims of offering an educational experience about ocean conservation otherwise inaccessible to the public. In this way, I argue that the coupling of educational discourse (or at least the veneer of education) with the commodification of nature is crucial to framing ecotourism practices as ethical, and therefore reassuring for the demands of the ethically-minded consumer.

In sum, the discourse of spectacular nature that drives the expansion of a global ecotourism industry is about framing how we see and experience nature, or what Urry and Larsen (2011) refer to as the 'environmental tourist gaze.' The strategic goal here is to commoditize human *encounter value* with the nonhuman natural world (Haraway 2008). But scholars noting these three trends above raise critical questions about the potential for nature-based tourism, no matter how 'eco-friendly' it might claim to be, to be irredeemably haunted by colonial and capitalist forms of exploitation of people, nature and place (Carrier & Macleod, 2005; Duffy 2008; Thurlow & Jaworski, 2014). Despite ethical sustainability being the mantra for ecotourism, as Adams (2004) argues, in manifesting the "destructiveness of conventional mass tourism," wildlife tourism "was as much about trying to establish a means for the tourist industry to sustain itself" (210).[24] I engage with this important critique in more depth in chapter 4, but in what follows below, my aim is to provide an initial mapping of the profound impact sea turtle ecotourism has had on Laniākea Beach as a sea turtle tourism destination over the past 20 years.

2.4 Tourism in Hawai‘i and sea turtle ecotourism at Laniākea Beach

Consider some of the recent figures on numbers of visitors to Hawai‘i in 2018, and forecasted for 2019, collected through surveys by the Hawai‘i Tourism Authority (figure 2.9).

[24] Rutherford (2011) offers a more equanimical characterization of ecotourism, suggesting that while it is haunted by socially and environmentally destructive colonial and capitalist logics, it does not necessarily mean that it must reproduce these logics in practice, and may potentially subvert them too. I take up this argument in more depth in chapter 4, but here, I only want to highlight a pertinent quote from Foucault (1984) the author invokes to support this less pessimistic view of ecotourism: "My point is not that everything [e.g. ecotourism] is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to hyper- and pessimistic activism" (p. 343, cited in Rutherford 2011, p. 184).

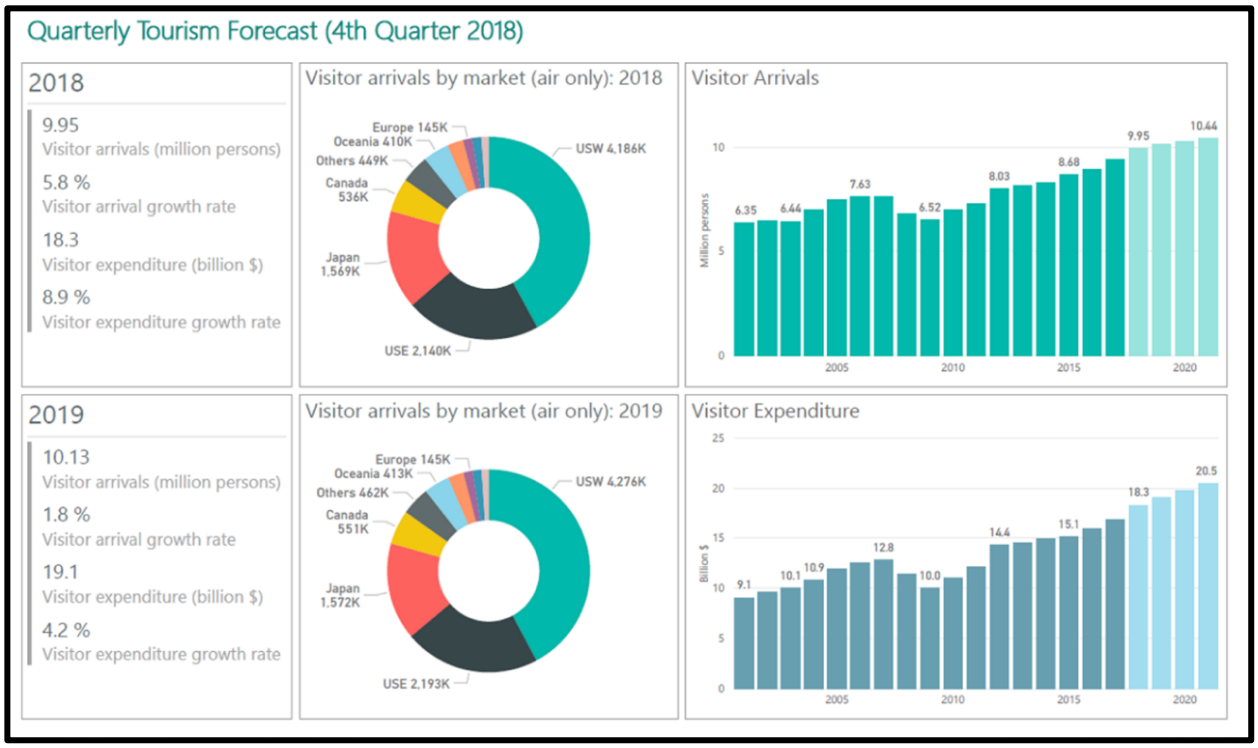
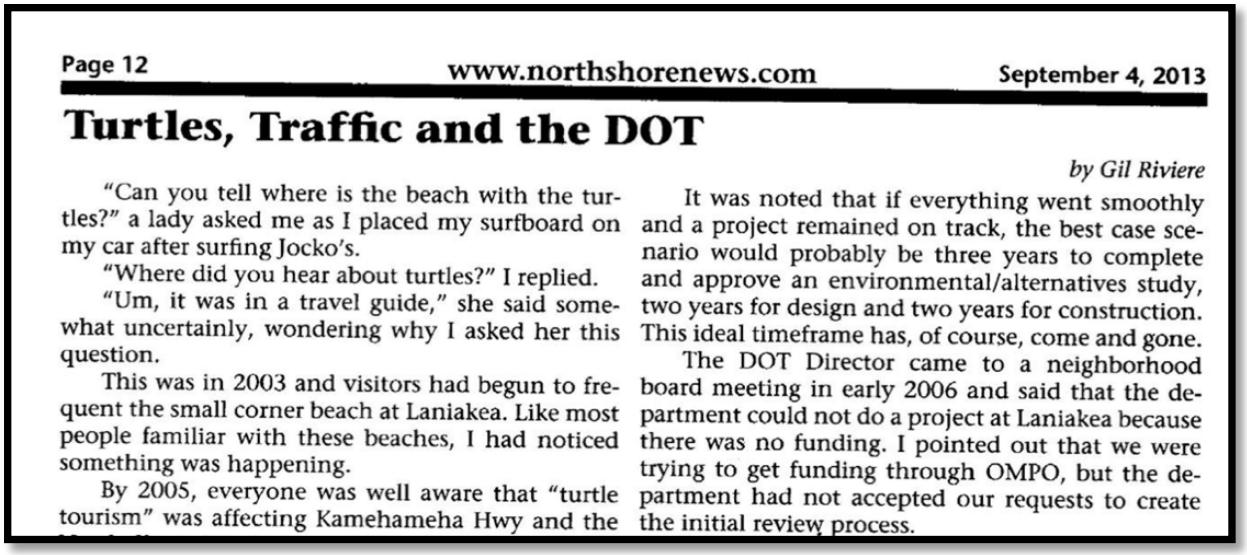


Figure 2.9 HTA Visitor arrivals for 2018-2019 and projected arrivals past 2020[25]

There are a few general points we can make out from this figure. First, the number of visitors to Hawai‘i has steadily increased from around 6 million visitors in 2000, to around 9 million today, and projected to hit 10 million by the end of 2019, with no cap on possible future growth. Second, after visitors from the U.S. mainland, visitors from Japan rank as the second largest group of visitors to Hawai‘i at nearly 1.6 million visitors per year. Sea turtle ecotourism in Hawai‘i only began in earnest in the early 2000s, a phenomenon directly tied to the resurgence of sea turtle populations frequenting and basking on Hawai‘i’s beaches on O‘ahu beginning in the late 1990’s. The first reported sighting of a basking sea turtle at Laniākea Beach was indeed in 1999 by Joanne Pettigrew, one of the co-founders of Show Turtles Aloha which eventually became Mālama na Honu. Consider the article below written by Gil Riviere, a state representative, now senator, in district 23 which includes Laniākea Beach. In this article submitted to the local North Shore newspaper, he writes about his first encounter with this new phenomenon of sea turtle ecotourism (figure 2.10):

[25] Retrieved January 31, 2019 from: http://dbedt.hawaii.gov/economic/tourism-dashboard/tourism-dashboard-by-market-monthly/



Page 12 www.northshorenews.com September 4, 2013

Turtles, Traffic and the DOT

by Gil Riviere

"Can you tell where is the beach with the turtles?" a lady asked me as I placed my surfboard on my car after surfing Jocko's.

"Where did you hear about turtles?" I replied.

"Um, it was in a travel guide," she said somewhat uncertainly, wondering why I asked her this question.

This was in 2003 and visitors had begun to frequent the small corner beach at Laniakea. Like most people familiar with these beaches, I had noticed something was happening.

By 2005, everyone was well aware that "turtle tourism" was affecting Kamehameha Hwy and the

It was noted that if everything went smoothly and a project remained on track, the best case scenario would probably be three years to complete and approve an environmental/alternatives study, two years for design and two years for construction. This ideal timeframe has, of course, come and gone.

The DOT Director came to a neighborhood board meeting in early 2006 and said that the department could not do a project at Laniakea because there was no funding. I pointed out that we were trying to get funding through OMPO, but the department had not accepted our requests to create the initial review process.

Figure 2.10 Turtles, traffic and the DOT

Here, Hawai'i State Senator Gil Riviere (as of January 2019) describes an interaction he experienced at Jocko's, a famous surf spot next to Laniākea beach. In retelling this interaction he had with a visitor, Riviere categorizes himself as "a surfer" who is "familiar with these beaches" and "the lady" as "a visitor" and most likely a tourist, as she was drawing on "a travel guide" as a resource. In Riviere's representation of this interaction, he attempts to figure out how this woman knew about turtles at Laniākea Beach with his question, "where did you hear about the turtles." His characterization of her hedging reply as showing uncertainty and perplexity towards his questions, invokes a sense of local residents as potential protectors of knowledge about sea turtles coming to this beach, and tourists as uninvited guests. This further invokes a kind of moral geography of social relations among diverse social actors (i.e, as besieged local residents and invading tourists for example), as various identities are constructed and positioned in relation to each other and other circulating discourses around Laniākea beach. The overall article goes on to tie the rise in 'turtle tourism' at Laniākea Beach to the increasing traffic clogging 'Kamehamea Hwy,' the only, and therefore vital means of commuting for residents of the North Shore.

As this reported interaction that Gil had in 2003 suggests, visitors were learning about sea turtles at Laniākea Beach from guidebooks. It is around this time that a growing market for sea turtle tourism emerged as the presence of wild sea turtles at Laniākea Bach became an increasingly reliable *green commodity* (Mühlhäusler & Peace, 2001) to stage for tourists visiting

Hawai‘i. With this, a discourse of spectacular sea turtles began to circulate across a multimodal and multilingual semiotic landscape in Hawai‘i in print in magazines and guidebooks, but also on websites, televised displays in hotel lobbies and rental car offices, and in on-flight advertisements. Through the circulation of this imagery, the tourism industry could plant the seeds of a sea turtle tourism *imaginary* (Salazar 2012). Figures 2.11 – 2.14 below showcase some of these spectacular representations of sea turtles in English and Japanese brochures I collected from tour operators in Waikīkī:

Figure 2.11 English-language turtle tour brochures

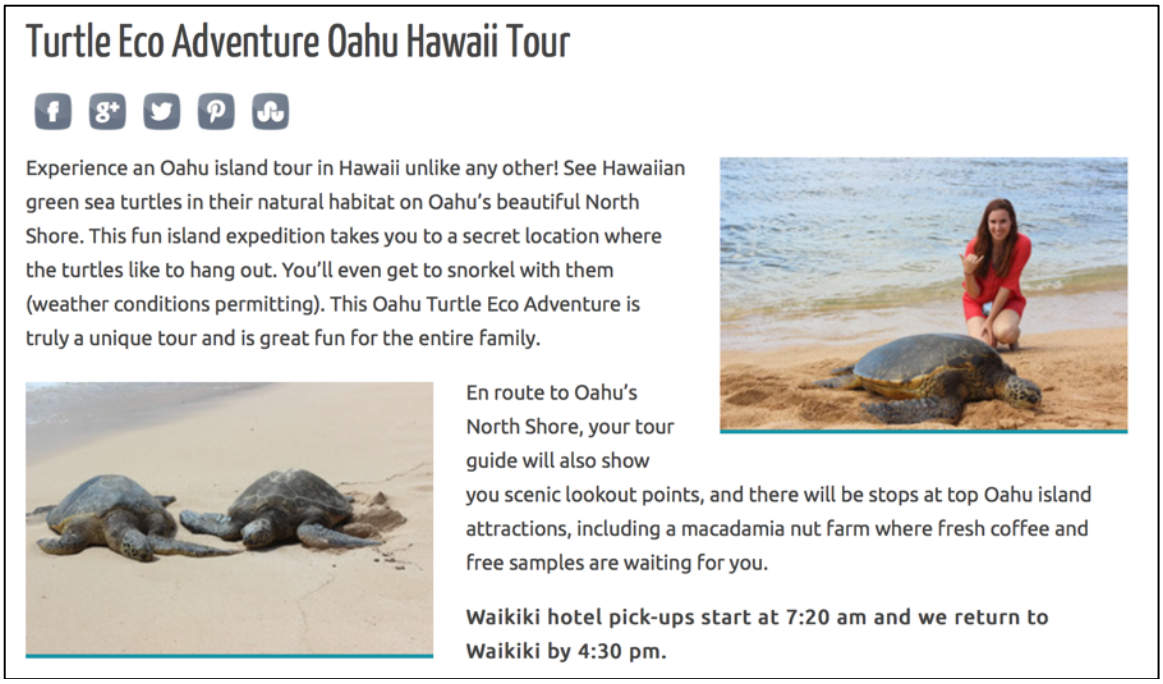


Figure 2.12 Turtle Eco Adventure Tour web advertisement

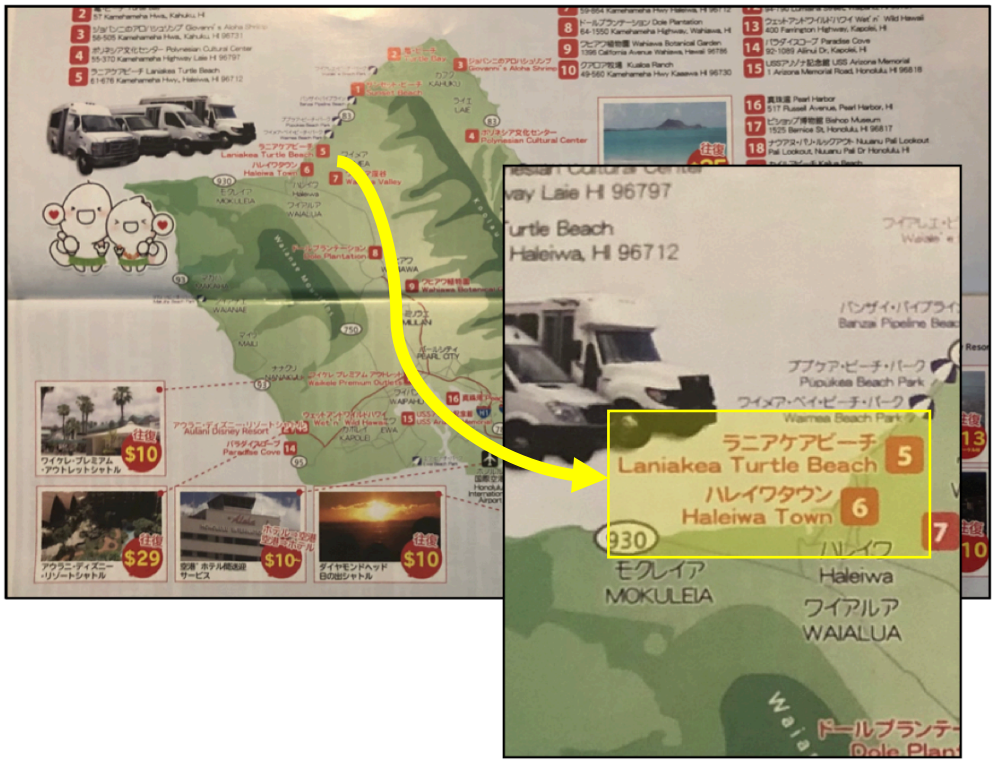


Figure 2.13 Japanese-language map of O'ahu and "Laniākea Turtle beach" – source *ハワイで一番安い ("cheapest in Hawai'i")*

Figure 2.14 Points of tourist reception for discovering "Turtle Beach"

Figures 2.11 – 2.14 show how Laniākea Beach is being crafted and staged as a popular sea turtle destination by the tourism industry, as it floods the semiotic landscape of Hawai'i with spectacular representations and imaginaries of thrilling, adventurous and most importantly, proximal embodied encounters with wildlife. There are four aspects these images serve to

illustrate about sea turtle ecotourism in Hawai‘i. First, notions of “eco” with its vague orientation to sustainability discourse is profuse throughout these material and is mobilized to construct an environmental tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen, 2011)[26]. This eco-tourist gaze cultivates tourists’ desires to experience idealized encounters with wild nature where charismatic species like sea turtle serve as living portals to a transcendent and therapeutic space, to commune with nature (Cronon 1996; Milstein 2016). Second, the tourist gaze is not just about manipulating people’s desires and expectations for place, but strategically aims to body is central to constructing this ecotourism sea turtle imaginary (cf. Franklin 2003), and ecotour operators creatively mobilize this spectacular imagery of tourists’ close corporeal interactions with sea turtles on land and in water. Third, tourists come into contact with these representations through their imbrication in Hawai‘i’s robust multilingual infrastructure of tourism networks, here showing materials emerging from the English and Japanese language networks. These tourism networks interpellate bodies at different points of contact as people move through airports, hotels, city streets and online through screens, capturing tourists’ hearts, minds and money in a strategically crafted and staged *ecotourist bubble* (Carrier & Macleod, 2005). Finally, in producing this ecotourism bubble, the ecotourism industry obscures from the tourist gaze any negative impacts the industry might have on local communities and ecologies.

2.5 From “Show Turtles Aloha” to “Mālama na Honu”

In the early 1990’s, a sea turtles scientist, Mark Rice, reported several sea turtles basking at Kiholo Bay on Hawai‘i Island. Before that day, basking behavior was rare if not unheard among sea turtles in Hawai‘i, at least in official reports. Suddenly, as if a turtle switch just turned on, adult green sea turtles began emerging from the ocean to sleep on the beach for hours at a time at Kiholo Bay. As George Balazs told me, “you could almost push another seven or eight years before anything happened in Honolulu, nothing on O‘ahu!” And then one day, Joanne Pettigrew, who was taking a walk along Laniākea Beach, discovered an adult sea turtle lying

[26] While on one level this discourse can establish powerful affective connections between humans and wildlife, these connections are argued to be embedded in the global tourism industry’s mass-commodification of exotic nature, an industry itself grounded in older colonial logics that Other, control, and exploit people, animals and the natural world for economic gain. As a consequence, the kinds of ecocultural knowledges, emotional connections, and power relations the discourse of spectacle makes possible for human relations with animals and nature appear to be at best, superficial and anthropocentric, and at worst, socially and environmentally damaging.

motionless on the sand: “I was so surprised,” she told me, “what is this turtle doing on the beach that looks healthy? Is it coming, is it here to die? What is it doing?” She decided to report this to NOAA, which eventually led her into contact with George Balazs, the lead sea turtle management officer for NOAA’s Pacific Island Regional Office (PIRO) at the time. L-1 Brutus, as this first sea turtle to bask at Laniākea Beach came to be known, was taken several times to the veterinary office in attempts to figure out if he was sick. But no, the sea turtle seemed fine. Soon after, more sea turtles began showing up at Laniākea Beach. This was around 2002, and George, tasked with researching this evolving turtle situation set up a “rag tag” team of volunteers consisting of PIRO staff and a few members of the local community to monitor this basking behavior daily.

As news circulated about this new sea turtle phenomenon, the tourism industry caught wind, and soon, more and more tourists began looking for sea turtles at Laniākea Beach. The word was spreading fast. So beginning in 2003, Joanne who had been helping George with monitoring the beach and protecting sea turtles from being disturbed, both decided to give a name to their project: “Show Turtles Aloha.” They hung up banners in English and Japanese that with this slogan, they handed out flyers to increasing numbers of tourists coming to the beach, and as George regretfully tells me, they also began placing red ropes around sea turtles: “I take credit I invented the red ropes...cause I didn't want the seascape, our beautiful Hawaiian coastline with this yellow flagging tape like they use you know? A clever way of just putting down some kind of limit. But it was never supposed to be like the border between Hong Kong and the People's Republic of China, barbed wire life, you know? It wasn't supposed to be an inviolate thing. In fact my time there, the line was violated quote-unquote several times.”

It is at this point in our interview together that George and Joanne begin to express different opinions about the goals of the organization, and what it has transformed into over the intervening 15 years. George expressed the feeling that Mālama na Honu had run its course and served its purpose and now should “go home and allow the community and the turtles to come to whatever equilibrium exists there.” Joanne, on the other hand, feelt that it would still be important for Mālama na Honu to maintain a presence on the beach for another few years and to have at least a few volunteer community members to provide ‘on the ground’ support to educate

visitors to the beach about sea turtles and to instruct visitors as to what respectful interactions with these creatures should look like in practice. But returning to the origin of these volunteers' efforts at the beach, activities at this early stage of the organization involved placing banners, portable educational and regulation signs, and Japanese and English education brochures at the beach, as well as bright red ropes around the perimeter of basking sea turtles, all practices that continue today. In 2007, Show Turtles Aloha officially transitioned from a NOAA research and outreach project to a non-profit organization called *Mālama na Honu,* the focal organization of this dissertation.

Finally, when asking Joanne about how the name Mālama na Honu itself came into being, she told me the following narrative about how she wanted a name that reflected the culture and community:

Excerpt 2.2 "we are part of this culture"

Joanne: I used to attend the neighborhood board meetings anytime we had a new sign because for 5 minutes every person at the beginning of the North Shore neighborhood board meeting has the opportunity to speak you don't have to be on the agenda and there's a courtesy to update them on what they're doing and I promised them we would have never have a neon sign directing people to there, what's going on on the Internet or what's going on or where to see turtles, but I wanted to, I wanted so badly for it to be part of our community

George: put banners up that are the sign that there's something going on there

Joanne: yes but they didn't they didn't face the highway yeah and that's one reason why after a long discussion with a few people that became board members of Mālama why we chose the name Mālama na Honu, we wanted it to be an integrated part of the community and so I was real big on it being community-based and having a name such as Mālama-Pūpūkea , or Kokua Foundation like the other nonprofits, that we are part of this culture somewhat even though you may see a lot of *haoles* on the beach

In recounting the origins of how the name Mālama na Honu came about, Joanne connects this to her desire for the organization to be recognized as 'an integrated part of the community,' using a Hawaiian name like other well-known non-profits such as the Kokua Foundation which supports environmental sustainability education in Hawai'i schools, or the Mālama-Pupukea-Waimea foundation, a volunteer-based organization that educates visitors on sustainable and ethical practices towards nearshore habitats along the Pupukea-Waimea Marine Life Conservation

District. One concern, reflected in her narrative, and that reminded me of concerns friends of mine involved with other environmental non-profits in Hawai‘i had mentioned to me, was that many volunteer members of these organization were staffed primarily by non-Local volunteers. ‘Local’ (Hiramoto 2011; Meyerhoff 2004) is a highly salient identity category in Hawai‘i typically associated with Hawaiians, as well as Asians and Pacific Islanders who were born and raised in Hawai’i. It is in contrastive relationship with the category ‘non-Local,’ which the Hawaiian term *haole* is also used to signify, and while most commonly indexing white people, can also be indexical of identity categories such as “immigrants, the military, tourists, and foreign investors’ (Okamura, 1994, p. 165).

This Local/non-Local or insider/outsider distinction was also a point of concern in my interview with Irene Kelly about potentially challenging relations emerging between Mālama na Honu and the local community:

Excerpt 2.3 “On some level the community appreciates them”

Irene: “who can volunteer? The rich haole retiree, people that have all the time in the world. They haven’t been able to draw much from the local community. Native Hawaiian community barely at all” (me: “Why do you think that is?”). “People have to work. People don’t have that luxury if you’re a local or a Native Hawaiian you don’t have that luxury to just go sit at the beach from Monday through Friday when you have to be at work… And so I feel like on some level the community appreciates them, I feel that they must in some way, but in another way they sort of have this sense of animosity also against them because they’re the outsiders coming in telling them what to do. And they, and you have some not so great volunteers that have been a little too pushy or a little bit too aggressive”

As I discuss more in my analysis in the chapters to follow, this awareness of an insiders/outsider distinction between volunteers and Locals, and in particular the Hawaiian community was also a reflexive concern and a site of on-going discussion and debate for volunteers I interviewed as well. In this dissertation I focus primarily on the white, American conservation volunteers and international tourists, especially Japanese tourists, that interact at the beach. But haunting all of the chapters of this dissertation, I acknowledge and recognize the pervasive absencing and sometimes strategic silencing of embodied Hawaiian voices on the one hand, and simultaneously, the appropriation of Hawaiian linguistic resources on the other (Aloha, Honu, Mālama, ‘Āina) in efforts to incorporate Hawaiian culture into organizations as a means to

legitimize and/or commidfy the sea turtle tourism and conservation discourses I document in the empirical chapters 4-6.

2.6 The Hawai‘i Tourism Authority and Laniākea Beach

It is also important to situate both the ecotourism practices and the volunteer conservation efforts that converge at Laniākea Beach in relation to the crucial role the Hawai‘i Tourism Authority (HTA) plays behind the scene. Indeed, the HTA is the primary funding sponsor of Mālama Na Honu, the volunteer organization at the center of my research, as well as several other environmental non-profits focused on wildlife and ecological conservation issues in Hawai‘i. The HTA also funds the Hawai‘i Ecotourism Association which offers sustainability certification and education to tour operators as a ‘market-driven’ technique to foster more eco-friendly and respectful wildlife-based tourism practices in Hawai‘i. These non-profits all receive annual grants, or as a NOAA official told me, “are all scrambling over money from them,” under HTA’s Aloha Aina’[27] program.[28] The Aloha Aina program, as described on HTA’s website, “is focused on the lasting value of stewardship by responsible community-based entities with an emphasis on aina-kanaka (land-human) relationships and knowledge. The collective objective is to manage, conserve and revitalize Hawaii’s natural resources and environment.” With this mission, HTA is an important supporter of non-profits striving to improve healthy ecological relations among people, wildlife and place in Hawai‘i. In the HTA’s annual 2018 report to the Hawai‘i state legislature, a photo of a Mālama na Honu volunteers (wearing a blue t-shirt) talking with tourists at Laniākea Beach features as the representative image of the Aloha Aina program[29]:

[27] The HTA website does not use either the kahakō or ‘okina for the Hawaiian word – ‘Āina – in their phrase ‘Aloha Aina’ meaning ‘love or respect of the land’ so I preserve that transliteration here. https://www.hawaiitourismauthority.org/what-we-do/hta-programs/natural-resources/

[28] A video produced by HTA showcasing Mālama Na Honu as one of its grantees can be found here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=72&v=J2l8CkwxBVQ

[29] https://www.hawaiitourismauthority.org/media/2854/2018-annual-report-to-the-hawaii-state-legislature.pdf

NATURAL RESOURCES

The Hawaiian Islands are among the most ecologically diverse collection of islands on Earth and home to 27 of 38 Holdridge global life zones, which make it the single most habitat-rich location worldwide. The beauty of the Hawaiian Islands is unsurpassed and its fragility equally so. HTA is committed to supporting programs that protect Hawai'i's natural resources for generations to come.

HTA also plays a significant role in supporting community-led environmental initiatives through the Aloha 'Āina Program and other efforts directly benefiting Hawai'i's natural environment.

2018 HIGHLIGHTS

- Provided $1.2 million to support 27 community-created initiatives statewide in their efforts to help maintain, preserve and protect Hawai'i's natural environment through the Aloha 'Āina Program.
- Collaborated on a partnership with the Hawai'i Department of Land and Natural Resources (DLNR) to support programs educating visitors and residents on the importance of protecting Hawai'i's natural and cultural resources. Public outreach included sponsoring television specials and placing educational content in more than 24,000 hotel rooms statewide, on Hawaiian Airlines flights and on Speedi Shuttle vans.
- Provided funding to support DLNR having a social media specialist to combat promotion of illegal visitor activities on state lands. Also implemented a social media campaign focused on encouraging visitors to be respectful of the environment.
- Funded and improved implementation of the Hawai'i Ecotourism Association's Sustainable Tourism Certification Program. Altogether, 49 operators providing activities to 2.3 million visitors were certified through September 2018.

14

Figure 2.15 HTA's Aloha 'Āina Program: *adopted from HTA 2018 annual report to Hawai'i State legislature*

However, in my interviews with participants from state agencies and NGO's that receive funding from HTA, there was a sentiment that HTA inevitably inhabits a contradictory space between pushing for endless tourism growth on the one hand and rhetorically protecting natural resources and wildlife on the other. The elephant in the room in public discussions about nature-based tourism in Hawai'i is "capacity," an idea which suggests there should be a cap on the amount of tourists allowed to visit a particular destination per day. One model for this approach to capping the number of tourists visiting a destination management is Hanauma Bay, a popular snorkeling destination which charges fees for entrance, limits the number of tourists coming through per day, and even has one 'rest day' a week where the park closes to everyone for a day. While "Hanauma Bay is generally regarded as a success story in resource management" (Mak, 2018, p. 5), it has also been suggested that it is sacrificed as a 'give away' tourism site to redirect and protect other ecological sensitive sties from overtourism

Similar ideas have been proposed for Laniākea Beach. But as one of the board of directors for the Hawai'i Ecotourism Association (HEA) put it to me bluntly in an interview, bringing up questions of capacity 'is an instant non-starter' for HTA. Instead, the HTA's preferred terminology is that a destination is 'robust.' O'ahu, from this perspective, is a robust destination, meaning for HTA to more vigorously promote the neighbor islands: in particular Hawai'i, Maui, and Kaua'i. For example, state data shows that from November 2017 to January 2018, air-seat arrivals to O'ahu only went up 3.2% in comparison to the previous year, whereas air-seats to Hawai'i Island and Kaua'i went up 29% and 34% respectively. Furthermore, capping tourism, say at 10 million visitors per year to Hawai'i, is a deeply unpopular idea among the public, with only 24% supporting such an idea.[30] At any rate, as I discuss briefly in chapter 7, there is growing sentiment among the local residents that live around Laniākea Beach on the North Shore that tourism to the beach has become a little too robust, and something needs to be done. For example, figures 2.16 – 2.19 below illustrate a small sample of the media landscape of tourism protest – and even turtle protest (figure 2.17) – concerning Laniākea Beach that have appeared on social media and local news outlets since 2017.

[30] Sources: http://dbedt.hawaii.gov/visitor/ for Hawai'i State data on air-seat arrivals, and https://www.hawaiibusiness.com/overtourism/4/ for survey data conducted by Anthology Marketing Research for Hawaii Business.

Figure 2.16 Laniākea Beach Protest: *source – North Shore Community Facebook Page*

Figure 2.17 'Relocate the sea turtles'
Source – Hawaii News Now

Figure 2.18 'Close Turtle Beach'
Source – North Shore Community

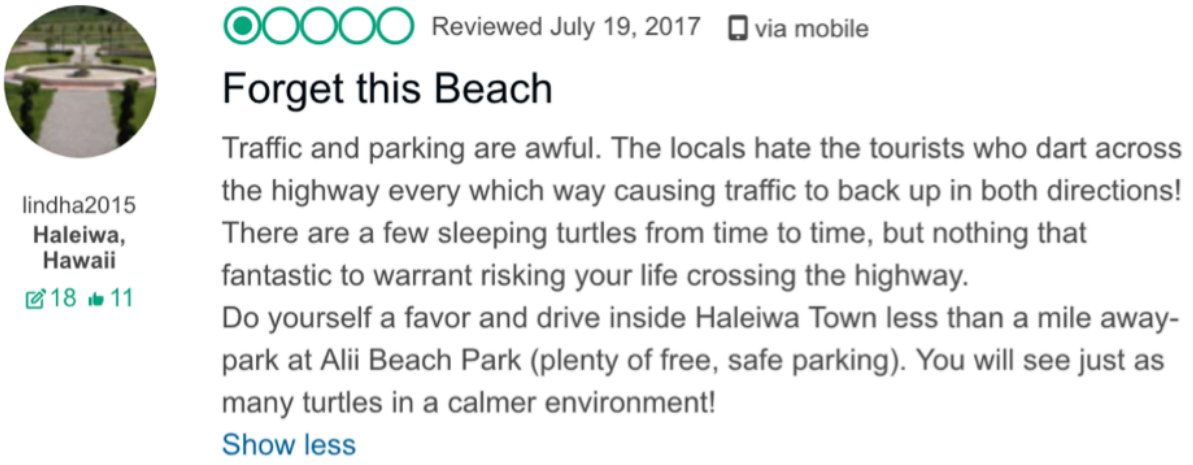


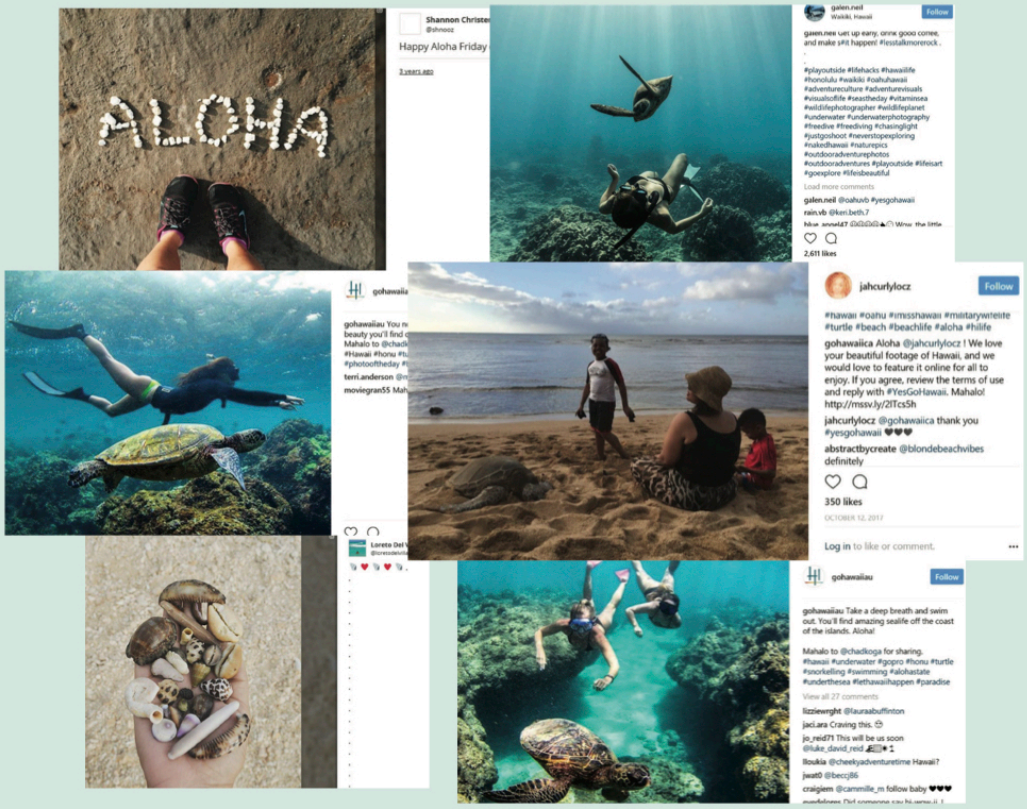
Figure 2.19 'Forget this Beach' review posted to Trip Advisor

HTA's agenda to grow tourism indefinitely raises concerns for NGOs who are working to create healthy and sustainable tourist relations with wildlife and natural places that have become extremely popular tourist destinations. In other words, in practice, there was a concern among participants I interviewed that for HTA, sustainability meant sustaining tourism more than sustaining the natural environment. As the same board member from HEA went on to tell me, "there's no reward for them to maintain our natural resources, they're graded on visitor arrivals." In light of this, for the HEA, then, the main effort has been to create an ecotour certification program that acts as a market-driven incentive for tour operators to shift towards more sustainable and ethical practices around tourist attractions such as natural places and charismatic wildlife.[31] However, without a mandate from HTA or the state that tour operators must have some form of eco-certification, sustainable practices will likely only be taken by operators insofar as they offer a market-incentive of increase profits. This tension between the HTA's agenda to continue increasing tourism arrivals and expenditures while off-loading the burden of encouraging the tour operators to be more sustainable and respectful towards wildlife on non-profits was echoed in my interview with a NOAA official who described the frustration of "dealing with HTA to get them or even the state to somehow mandate that every tour operator has to take a class that teaches them about all these different [sustainability] things."

[31] This involves meeting certain requirements like efficient water use, proper waste disposal, eco-friendly energy consumption, positive impact on the local community, and 'not riding dolphins or sea turtles.'

A further issue that has become an increasing concern in this digital age is HTA's presence on social media, and how it promotes tourism destinations like Laniākea Beach on Instagram and other social mediate platforms. As the representation of human-sea turtle interactions on social media is a concern of this dissertation (see chapter 4), it is worth noting that a fairly negative audit of the agency in 2018 involved reprimanding HTA's online promotion of tourism activities and destinations, showing images of tourists getting too close to wildlife, and citing that HTA even recommended to tour operators to use this imagery in their own advertising. [32] These postings violated HTA's own policy about how to appropriately promote tourist-wildlife interactions on social media (see figure 2.20 below):

[32] This scathing state audit of HTA conducted in 2018 showed that the agency inappropriately reimbursed funds in the millions of dollars to various sub-contractors – reimbursing first-class flights, luxury hotel rooms, and contracts without receipts – eventually leading to a shake-up of the agency's board of directors by the state legislature and a minor reduction of its budget: http://files.hawaii.gov/auditor/Reports/2018/18-04.pdf



Following the Crowd

AS PART OF ITS MISSION to promote tourism in Hawai‘i, HTA maintains a presence on social media. One of its pages, gohawaii.com/social, re-posts photographs of Hawai‘i from Instagram to show off the Islands’ many attractions. According to HTA’s own Social Media Content Guidebook, photos should not depict people in close contact with protected wildlife, including turtles and dolphins. HTA’s Style and Resource Guide states that sea turtles will not nest at beaches where they have been disturbed and that they should be observed from at least 100 feet away. Photos should identify them as endangered and refrain from showing human interaction. The guide also warns that visitors should not stack, move, or remove rocks, take rocks as souvenirs, or arrange rocks to spell names or symbols.

HTA also maintains a “do not promote” list of locations which notes that photos of people touching, harassing, or getting too close to protected species are strongly discouraged. It further states that the removal of rocks, lava, coral, sand, plant materials, etc. should never be portrayed.

We reviewed HTA’s social media website at gohawaii.com/social as well as related postings on Instagram with hashtags #gohawaii, #gohawaiiau (HTA’s Australia marketer), and #gohawaiica (HTA’s Canada marketer) on January 10 and 11, 2018. Despite its own policies, we found HTA had posted photos of people getting close to protected species, removal of rocks and seashells, and depictions of areas throughout Hawai‘i that HTA classifies as “do not promote,” “do not show image’s location due to access,” or “prefer not to promote.” These photos appeared on the HTA gohawaii.com website and as Instagram posts, which in certain instances included requests by HTA or its contractors to use the images for tourism promotion.

Figure 2.20 HTA’s use of social media in 2018 Hawai‘i State audit

In sum, the conflict between HTA's mission to endlessly grow tourism while simultaneously encouraging sustainable management of tourism destinations seems to be a contradictory situation produced by the current economic primacy that tourism is given in organizing Hawai'i's funding structures among environmental NGOs, the ecotourism industry, and the state. In this regard, due to the importance of tourism to Hawai'i's economy, HTA has been granted a rather unique institutional status as a semi-autonomous state agency with little accountability over how it balances a growing tourism industry with environmental sustainability. This situation contrasts with other countries such as Australia, as well as U.S. states such as Alaska that establish more direct regulatory mechanisms for managing their ecotourism industry. In other words, what this means is that HTA receives very little legislative oversight over how, and how much, it chooses to allocate public funds to environmental NGOs such as Mālama na Honu. Through these tactics, HTA shifts the burden of responsibility for delivering sustainable practices to NGOs such as Mālama na Honu that must first show their relevance to the tourism industry before receiving funds. This strategic approach allows HTA to reap the public relation benefits of a sustainability image these organizations generate for the institution, which, as figure 2.20 above shows, is put to good use for legitimizing its current practices, and all achieved through relatively meager funds distributed to these NGOs relative to HTA's budget in the tens of millions. While the situation in Hawai'i with HTA may be unique for how public funding for conservation NGOs is allocated by a state, this model of environmental conservation, centered as it is on prioritizing the economic engine of tourism rather than environmental sustainability, reflects a broader trend of neoliberal environmental governance that scholars site as dramatically transforming the landscape of how wildlife and environmental conservation efforts are being delivered throughout the world .

2.7 Conclusion

My concern in this dissertation is not with making claims as to what legal language should be revised or adopted in the ESA or about recommending policy changes to HTA. Rather, what I will bring focus to is how volunteer-based community activism to protect wildlife, such as Mālama na Honu's educational and protective efforts around sea turtles, emerge in socioculturally specific, historically contingent, and interactionally situated ways. In these spaces, environmental community activism picks up where state-based institutions leave off,

leaving motivated members of the community to navigate legally ambiguous, highly commodified, politically contested, interculturally diverse, and ecologically shifting spaces along Hawai'i's beaches. In the next section, I detail the methodology that provides a useful approach to examine what happens to sea turtle tourism and conservation discourses as they are made to circulate through this dynamic beachspace of human-sea turtle interaction at Laniākea Beach.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology for my research. I begin with the relevance of nexus analysis for my research on the overlapping contexts of sea turtle tourism and conservation at Laniākea Beach. I show how nexus analysis, as a methodological approach grounded in the theoretical framework of mediated discourse analysis, offers a useful approach to investigate the circulation of discourses about sea turtles that produce and sustain sea turtle tourism and conservation practices at Laniākea Beach. I further argue for the usefulness of bringing nexus analysis into dialogue with the concept of assemblage in posthumanist studies of human-animal interaction as way to conceptualize the multifaceted ways animals, people, discourse, action and place become entangled with one another in situated practice. I will argue that nexus analysis, in sharing a very similar analytic project to posthumanist assemblages, offers a useful methodology to guide the collection and analysis of empirical data on human-sea turtle assemblages at Laniākea Beach. Following this, I provide my rationale for multimodal transcription conventions, as well as the choices I made in transcription conventions of the empirical data in this dissertation, which includes print and online media data, video and audio-recordings of embodied and spoken interaction, interviews and field notes. I then provide an overview of the context of my study, the participants, and how data was collected. Finally, I discuss my positionality and subjectivity as a researcher, describing my relations with participants and ethical challenges involved with the research context.

3.2 Mediated Discourse Analysis

The primary theoretical framework for analyzing discourse that I take in this in dissertation is mediated discourse analysis (MDA). MDA is a theoretical framework of discourse analysis that takes the *mediated action* as its focal unit of analysis (Scollon, 2001; Norris & Jones, 2005). In asking how discourse is mediated by action, MDA "seeks to develop a theoretical remedy for discourse analysis that operates without reference to social actions on the one hand, or social analysis that operates without reference to discourse on the other" (Scollon,

2001, p. 1). This focus on the link between discourse and action builds on a lineage of philosophical, sociological and anthropological research on communication in social interaction that develops an understanding of language not just as a system for making propositional statements *about* the world, but as a mode of sensing and instigating actions *in* the world (Austin, 1962/1975; Bateson, 1972/2000; Garfinkle, 1967; Goffman, 1959, 1967; Halliday, 1973; Wittgenstein, 1958/1969). In this way, MDA shares a similar concern with other discourse analytic approaches that explore language-as-action, asking what people *do* with what they say: to enact social identities, manage social relations, and reproduce or contest societal ideologies (Gumperz, 1982; Hymes, 1974, 1996; Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). However, MDA departs from these other perspectives on the discourse-action link in the following way: while these other approaches are concerned with action, they generally take discourse as their starting point, asking what people do with language to accomplish certain actions. In contrast, MDA takes action as its starting point, asking what semiotic and material resources constitute a particular action in the world. This might appear to be a small difference on the surface, but as I take up in the sections below, its focus on human action as the emergent effect of a nexus of elements – human as much as nonhuman – leads analysis towards a posthumanist conception of the *rhizomatic* links among discourse, human agency and the material world (Pietekäinen, 2016).

MDA was initially developed by Ron Scollon (1998, 2001) and later in collaboration with colleagues (Norris and Jones, 2005; S. Scollon, 2003; Scollon and Scollon, 2004) and builds especially on the insights of two early 20th century Russian scholars, the developmental psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1962) and the literary scholar Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), as their work has been brought into dialogue in sociocultural theories of agency and cognition (Wertsch, 1991, 1998). In brief, Vygotsky argued for a view of cognition and learning as emerging from participation in sociocultural activity rather than from individualistic mental phenomena. From this, he argued that learning and sociocultural competence are *mediated* by both material (i.e., objects and artifacts) and semiotic (i.e. language, counting systems) tools. An important idea behind his notion of mediational tools is that certain semiotic and material tools make specific actions easier or harder to carry out. What Bakhtin adds to Vygotsky's theory of mediation is how our use of these material and semiotic tools in our thoughts, actions and utterances links us to the historical use of these tools in society, enmeshing us in a complex of web of past and

future conversations, participants and places. The two ways this linking up happens is expressed through his concepts of *heteroglossia* and *dialogism*. Our actions are *heteroglossic*, or "filled with others' words [and actions], varying degrees of otherness or varying degrees of 'our-own-ness'" (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 89). Furthermore, our actions are *dialogic* in that "any utterance is a link in the chain of communication" (Bakhtin 1986, p. 84), never uttered in isolation, but always an interdiscursive response to a vast web of past and future dialogue with the social, semiotic and material world (Foucault, 1969; Silverstein and Urban 1996).

Jones (2016) usefully synthesizes how Vygotsky's and Bakhtin's perspectives are brought together in MDA, arguing that 1) "[w]e've got to look at how what you and I say and do is made possible and shaped by the tools that our social environments make available to us," and then asking 2) "how these sayings and doings are connected up with the words and actions of many other people who may not be obvious participants in the conversation you and I are having" (p. 46). To illustrate this, consider the example Scollon (2001) provides in considering these questions in relation to drinking a cup of coffee with friends at a café. He suggests, on the one hand, how the activity of drinking a cup of coffee can be viewed more narrowly as composed of the single action of drinking coffee from a cup, or instead, a multilayered set of nested actions such as queuing, ordering, purchasing, drinking, choosing and sitting at a table, and conversing, throwing a cup away. Similarly, drinking a cup of coffee could be described as involving a single discourse of chatting with friends. Or instead, the action of drinking coffee could be understood as a nexus of "many complex discourses with rampant intertextualities and interdiscursivities – international neo-capitalist marketing of coffee, service encounter talk, linguistic conference talk, family talk and the rest" (p. 1). From this example, Scollon then argues that "[m]ediated discourse analysis is a position which seeks to keep all of this complexity alive in our analyses without presupposing which actions and which discourses are the relevant ones in any particular case under study" (p. 1).

For MDA, keeping this complexity alive in analyses has meant developing an alternative conception on the links between action, discourse and context from other approaches to discourse analysis. In particular for this dissertation, the perspective on discourse that MDA takes is useful in considering the multiplicity of discourses that converge and rub up against one

another to produce the multidimensional actions people take around charismatic wildlife like sea turtles. Here, the definition of discourse MDA takes includes attending to how people's actions around sea turtles manifest constraints on knowledge through systems of access, exclusion and categorization (Foucault 1970). These discourse systems not only involve constraints on what semiotic resources are available to us, what we can do with these resources, and what kinds of people we can be – or made to be – with them. Discourse also becomes materialized in bodies, objects, and built infrastructure through historical trajectories of action transformed into material discourse, and material discourse back into action again. One example of this *discourse cycle* (Scollon and Scollon 2004) is how a conversation becomes a blueprint, which then becomes a construction project, which then becomes a physical building, which then serves to spatially and socially organize new conversations. Tracing these trajectories of discursive *resemiotization* (Iedema, 2003) across time and place are revelatory of how certain social practices around wildlife become entrenched over time, creating a sense of social continuity across actions, identities and communities.

Finally, tracing these trajectories of discursive-material transformation that produce moments of action like drinking a cup of coffee, or taking a photo of a sea turtle, leads MDA to reject the idea of *context* in traditional approaches to discourse analysis. One consequence of the notion of context is that it privileges a logocentric perspective on discourse, bracketing all non-linguistic aspects of a moment of action as co(n)text for some focal text. Instead, rather than asking how an action is made meaningful in relation to some external context, MDA asks: *what* is acting in any one place and moment? This question leaves ambiguous the human intentionality behind an action, and instead simply asks what nexus of semiotic and material affordances are gathered together by an action. In other words, the action itself is composed of the elements we might formerly have attributed to context. A further consequence of rethinking context in this way is that it blurs the temporal and spatial boundaries of face-to-face interaction, revealing moments of action to be better understood as a nodal point of many intersecting trajectories of human and nonhuman objects, technologies, animals, participants, discourses, and landscapes (cf. Cicourel, 1992). For this dissertation, this approach problematizes the notion that there are direct and unproblematic links between an environmental discourse and a certain environmental behavior. This is because it complicates our understanding of the behaviors

people take around animals like sea turtles as composed of a multitude of discourses and practices that converge, jostle together and transform one another in moments of action. While MDA provides a robust theoretical framework for conceptualizing the complexity of this discourse-action link, it leaves vague the methodological approach one might adopt to trace the multiple and often contradictory trajectories of discourses, practices, and materials that converge in people's actions to produce more enduring discursive formations around animals, such as ecotourism or conservation practices.

3.3 Nexus analysis

Nexus analysis is an ethnographic sociolinguistic approach to discourse analysis that embraces a methodology which is theoretically grounded in mediated discourse analysis (MDA) (Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Lane, 2014). As discussed above, MDA takes the mediated action, rather than language, as its focal unit of analysis, treating language as one of many available resources alongside other semiotic-material elements that contribute to meaningful action-formation in the here and now (Scollon, 2001; Jones & Norris, 2005).

A key idea in nexus analysis is that mediated actions are formed at a "site of engagement," or a real-time window that is opened up when discourses in place, historical bodies and the interaction order weave together to make certain actions possible (see Figure 3.1 below). The notion of *discourses in place* (Scollon & Scollon, 2003) describes the discursive pathways embedded in material objects, historical bodies and the built and natural environment that aggregate in particular places to predispose certain actions. The idea of the *interaction order*, as I foreground it in this chapter, explores the nexus point at which lively human and animal bodies, and aspects of the semiotic and material environment all intersect in on-going moments of action to enable certain attentional fields, identities, and ethical relations among human and nonhuman participants. And finally, the *historical body* refers to how these interactional experiences with the semiotic and material world become internalized in the living body in the form of more enduring habits, knowledges, and bodily attunements.

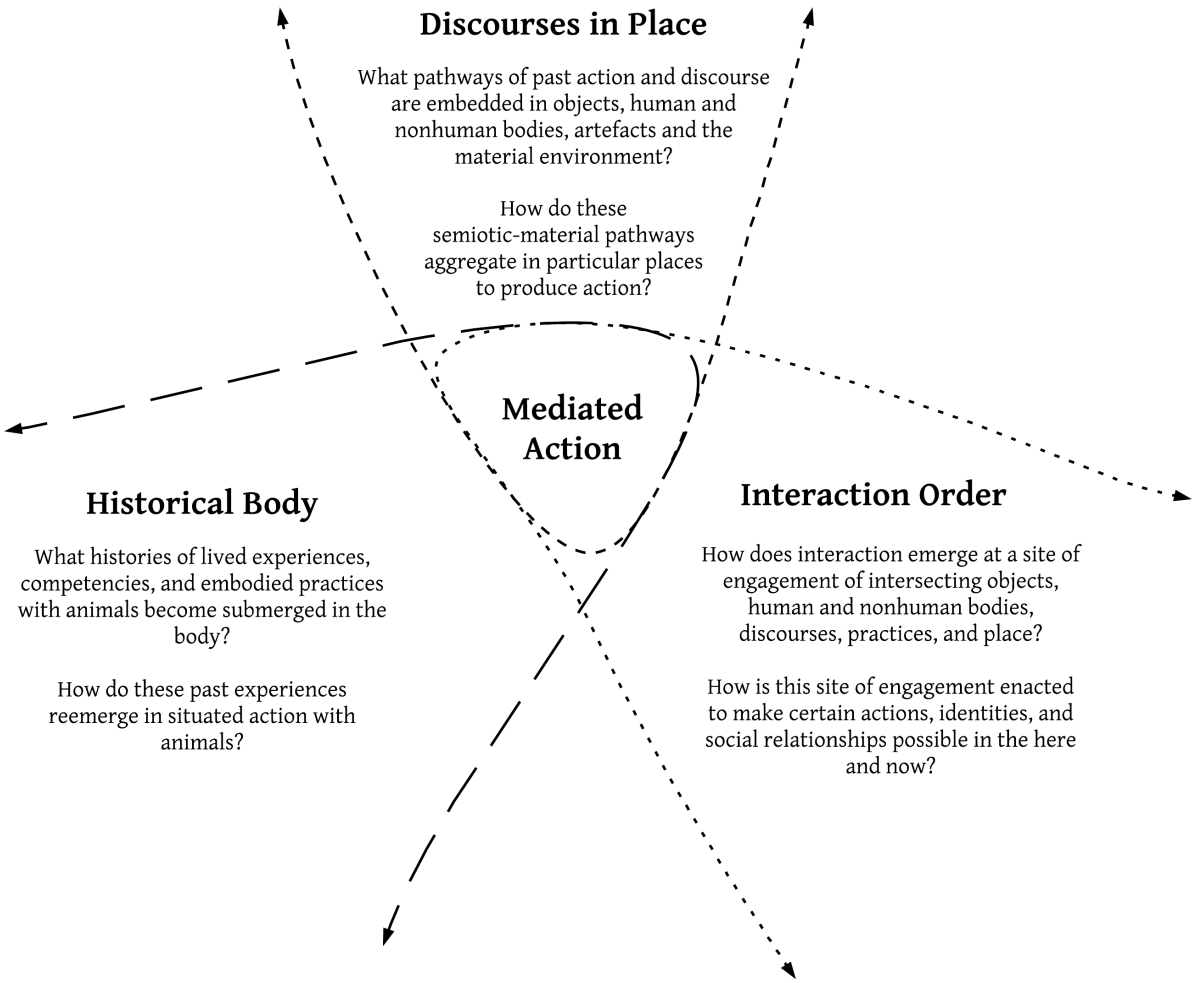


Figure 3.1 Intersecting discursive pathways in a nexus analysis (adapted from Hult 2010).

The important point nexus analysis makes is to recognize how moments of action emerge from the entanglement of these intersecting discursive flows – discourses in place, interaction order and historical body – and how the interdiscursive relations among these flows contribute to and transform social practices over time (for applications see e.g. Scollon, 2015; Dlaske, 2015; Hult, 2014; Izadi, 2017; Pietikäinen, 2015). The Scollons draw on various organic metaphors to describe these intersecting flows of discourse, for example, as a water cycle where rain absorbs new elements and minerals as it falls through the air and into the ground, and evaporates again in an on-going cycle of *resemiotization* (cf. Hengst & Prior, 2010; Iedema, 2001). This highlights how a particular discourse is continually invested with new sociocultural meanings and material qualities when remediated and repurposed across new moments or 'sites of engagement.' A site of engagement is "a point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas,

practices, experiences and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 159). And finally, when a site of engagement is repeated to produce similar actions and identities for specific purposes (e.g. buying coffee, protecting sea turtles), nexus analysis refers to this trajectory as a *nexus of practice.*

In sum, if a site of engagement is the moment when multiple discourses and practices are linked up through the compositional configurations of semiotic and material resources produced through action, a nexus of practice involves the networks of practice-linkages that are recognizable as *repeating* configurations of these connections. To illustrate this distinction, while the utterance, "the sea turtle just swam by me!" can stand for a site of engagement (in this case a specific instance of swimming with sea turtles), the utterance, "let's go swimming with sea turtles" stands for a nexus of practice. In the latter case, we are referring to a *type* of configuration, not a specific *token* of one. The broader implication is that nexus analysis is not just concerned with one-off instances of actions or even repeated practices, but how these rhythms and flows of practices circulate identity, power and knowledge in place to stabilize a coherent network of socio-material relations that endure over time. To summarize the methodology succinctly, the starting point for nexus analysis is to identify a consequential social action – like a volunteer placing a red rope around a sea turtle or a tourist posting a turtle selfie to Instagram – and then to chart ethnographically outwards from there the discursive, material and actional elements that cycle through and produce that action. These cycles include the movement of human and nonhuman bodies, objects, practices, discourses, technologies, and places that are simultaneously enlisted and set into motion again by an action, in effect tilling the soil from which more enduring social practices can grow, be maintained and transform over time.

Finally, it is also important clarify how nexus analysis departs from ethnographic and sociolinguistic studies of communities of practice, which might seem similar to the concept of nexus of practice. From the perspective of nexus analysis, a community of practice is some aspect of a nexus of practice that has become objectivized or *technologized* (Scollon, 2001) in a way that enables people to imagine their identity or community around it for strategic purposes. As Scollon (2001) argues, "the production of communities of practice as bounded membership

entities of inclusion and exclusion out of the nexus of practice must be studied to see how the transformation from practice, action, and habitus to person, characteristics, and identity is performed through discursive practices and other practices of technologization and objectivization" (p. 158). An important aspect of this perspective is that one way a nexus of practice becomes technologized as a community of practice is when people develop identities and communities around cultural tools – named languages and cultures, objects, places, or even living creatures like sea turtles – cultural tools that are designed to *test* for criteria of inclusion and exclusion. In sum, from the perspective of nexus analysis, "[t]he boundaries of social groups [and other human and nonhuman entities and beings] are thus posed as amenable to empirical analysis: under what conditions and for whom is it meaningful to construct a boundary?" (Scollon and Scollon, 2007, p. 612). At Laniākea Beach, this has important implications for how we investigate *interculturality* as it is produced in social practices around sea turtles.

3.4 Assemblages and actor-network theory

As nexus analysis directs attention to the most relevant mediational resources that enable the production and maintenance of crucial actions of focus for a researcher, it became clear from the start of my research to investigate how sea turtles themselves contribute to the nexus of practice at Laniākea Beach. Understanding the sociogenesis of conservation and tourism practices at the beach meant considering how sea turtles are not mere symbols or inert features of context, but are agentive characters that actively shape social practices Laniākea Beach too. In recognizing this, below I argue for the methodological usefulness of bringing the concept of 'assemblage' in human-animal studies, and more recently being taken up in applied linguistics (Pennycook & Otsuji, 2017) into dialogue with nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). In particular, I draw inspiration from how the concept of assemblage is being taken up in the interdisciplinary field of human-animal studies examining contexts of wildlife conservation and wildlife tourism (Whatmore 2002; Lorimer 2015).

The concept of assemblage in this work builds in particular on an on-going dialogue with actor-network theory (ANT) (Latour 1999, 2005). In this work, a concise definition of assemblage is difficult to pin down, but the concept generally involves these characteristics: they are processual, they have historical inertia that groove present circumstances and anticipate

future activity, they are composed of human and nonhuman elements whose identity is not pre-given but constituted through the connections they make, and the configurations among these elements tend towards both fixity and fluidity (Anderson & Macfarlane, 2011; Bennett 2005; Lorimer 2009; Ogden, 2011; Whatmore, 2006). This is fairly abstract, but in this dissertation, I draw in particular on the concept of assemblage as it is being conceptualized in ethnographic research on human-wildlife interaction. Lorimer (2015), for example, draws on the concept of assemblage to examine how conservation efforts centered around elephants in Sri Lanka proceed through various communicative strategies to consolidate interconnectivity among human and nonhuman bodies, but also documents, maps, territories, fences, guns, films, websites, and more. Through these strategic assembling efforts, he argues, "[a]ssemblages allow certain actors to speak for, commodify, govern, and thus shape the world, often in conflict with other representations (p. 10).

One kind of conflicting representation that shapes an assemblage is the way animals represent their worlds too (Kohn, 2007). This brings focus to how humans do not just impose representations on animals, but are co-constituted with them through collaborative forms of agentivity where "creatures of different species, become, one for another, and one with another companion agents" (Despret, 2013, p. 29). This aspect of assemblages aims to disrupt assumptions about human representation as active and nonhuman materiality as passive. This point is well illustrated in research that explores the ways animals resist and transform the wildlife tourism or conservation networks that try to enlist them as predictable and stable objects of nature, such as when whales do not show up on cue for the whale watching tour, or instead swim further out to sea forcing the tour boat captains to follow (Cloke & Perkins, 2005). One consequence of ANT's equal emphasis on humans and nonhumans, at least when beginning a research project, is that key elements of social analysis, like social actors (tourists/volunteers/sea turtles), places (Laniākea Beach, Hawai'i), and social practices (tourism, conservation, politics, environmentalism) are best seen as effects of networks in flux, rather than pre-given, stable structures or categories. The task that ANT sets out for itself is to trace the circulation of discursive and material relations that 'perform' these network-effects, and to uncover how power and accountability get distributed and attributed in these networks through these relational performances of people, objects, technologies, discourses, and environments.

My motivation for integrating ANT into nexus analysis stems first and foremost from my efforts to better understand the social and discursive practices of human-sea turtle relations at Laniākea Beach. The questions I was asking about human-animal relations in tourism and conservation settings, led me to explore research in other disciplines that have investigated human-wildlife relations drawing on posthumanist concepts like assemblages and actor-networks. In working through the concepts and methods of nexus analysis (mediated discourse analysis), I saw strong parallels to ANT. In many ways, nexus analysis is a discourse analytic orientation to ANT, emphasizing the discursive-linguistic dimensions that shape actor-networks. My intuition about this resonated with comments made by other researchers I came across as well. For example, Nicolini (2013) writes,

> it is unfortunate that MDA [nexus analysis] failed to enter into a productive conversation with other cognate projects such as the sociology of translation (also known as actor network theory: see Latour, 2005; Law, 2009). The sociology of translation…offers, in fact, a set of powerful conceptual tools for explaining the emergence of assemblages, conjunctures, and organized forms of social order, without reintroducing traditional dichotomies; e.g. that between local and global effects. In this sense, MDA and the sociology of translation respond to the same project and their failed encounter is both a missed opportunity and a fruitful possibility (p. 207).

In applied linguistics, similar connections are being drawn between nexus analysis and ANT inspired *assemblage thinking* as offering mutually beneficial insights into multilingual communication and practice. For example the concept of *semiotic assemblage* draws on the posthumanist sensibilities of ANT and related approaches to argue for expanding the semiotic terrain of discourse analysis (see figure 3.2) below for an overview of approaches developing the concept of assemblage). While nexus analysis has received minimal attention outside of a core group of researchers in applied linguistics, partly due to the untimely passing away of its main proponents, Ron Scollon, in 2009, emerging posthumanist perspectives in applied linguistics are recognizing its usefulness for understanding the range of materials, spatial layouts and discourses that come together in any moment of action. Pennycook (2017) for example, makes this

connection in writing "[n]exus analysis focuses on "moments of action rather than on abstractable structures such as cultures and languages" ([Scollon and Scollon,] 2007, p. 620). Such an approach has a number of affinities with the idea of assemblages that I have been developing in [a posthumanist applied linguistics] (see also Pennycook, 2017; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2017)" (see figure 3.2 below for overview of MDA and posthumanist thinking on human-nonhuman assemblages).

Approach	Key theorists	Key researchers	Raison d'être	Key Methods
Mediated Discourse Analysis	Mikhail Bakhtin Lev Vygotsky James Wertsch Ron Scollon Kitaro Nishida	Ron Scollon Suzie Scollon, Rodney Jones, Sigrid Norris Sari Pietikäinen	Taking action as primary, what is the link between discourse and action? And how does this link contribute to the sociogenesis of more enduring social relations, identities and communities?	*Nexus Analysis*, Multimodal Interaction Analysis
Actor-network theory	Michel Serres Alfred North Whitehead Gabriele Tarde	Bruno Latour, Micheal Callon, John Law, Adrienne Mol, Marilyn Strathern	An anthropology of the 'moderns' that rejects Enlightenment divides (e.g. subjects/objects, society/nature) to instead explore the diverse kinds of agents/actors that emerge as effects heterogenous networks.	Ethnography of "arrangements and gathering of things—and accounts of the arrangements of those things—that could have been otherwise" (Law, 2004, p. 143).
Assemblage thinking	Gilles Deleuze Félix Guattari	Jane Bennett Nigel Thrift Karen Barad Saskia Sassen Arturo Escobar	Theorizes networks as historical trajectories of stasis and change: where the former is 'tree-like' imposing hierarchy and segmentation, the latter is 'rhizome-like', non-hierarchical, and with multiple entry-ways for new connections to be made.	Ethnographic research and writing that supplements text and talk with other sensory modalities: embodied, visual, affective, material
Critical plant and animal studies	Jakob von Uexküll, Gregory Bateson, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro Donna Haraway	Sarah Whatmore, Eduardo Kohn, Anna Tsing Donna Haraway Matei Candea Thom van Dooren Vinciane Despret	A focus on human-animal networks that asks "how colonialism, capitalism, and their associated unequal power relations play out within a broader web of life" (van Dooren, Kirksey, and Münster 2016)?	*Multispecies Ethnography* "that is not just confined to the human but is concerned with the effects of our entanglements with other kinds of living selves" (Kohn, 2007, p. 4)

Figure 3.2 Posthumanist approaches to ethnographic discourse analysis

3.5 Changing the nexus of practice

Figure 3.2 below provides an overview of the interwoven stages of a nexus analysis involved in engaging (identifying), navigating (mapping) and changing (contributing positive

social change to) a nexus of practice. While Scollon and Scollon (2004) describe these different stages of a nexus analysis in a more or less linear fashion, each consisting of about 4 months of ethnographic research, they argue that in actual research practice, these stages are thoroughly entangled. These stages of nexus analysis reveal that one driving source of motivation for this approach, in addition to identifying and navigating a nexus of practice, is to *change the nexus of practice* and bring about some kind of positive social change in the research setting. Scollon & Scollon (2007) attribute this motivation to the foundations of a critical sociolinguistic research agenda tracing back to Dell Hyme's (1972) call for "a personal general anthropology whose function is the advancement of knowledge and the welfare of mankind" (p. 47). From the perspective of nexus analysis, Hyme's call requires a primary focus on the consequential actions that constitute problematic social issues. This is because, as Norris and Jones (2005) argue, "[m]ediated discourse analysts take the position that to understand the power relations and ideological forces in our societies, it is necessary to start with the everyday actions that go into creating them. The most pressing social problems in the world must be understood...as a matter of our individual actions within the semiotic aggregates (Scollon and Scollon, 2003) that institutions and ideologies produce" (p. 11).

Researchers have drawn on nexus analysis as a form of critical intervention into a range of social issues ranging from systemic inequality in regards to educational, medical, legal and technological access (Scollon & Scollon 2004; Zidjali 2019), to state surveillance (Jones, 2017; S. Scollon, 2005) and climate change (McIlvenny, 2009; S. Scollon, 2015). For example, in their pioneering work developing nexus analysis, Scollon & Scollon's (2004) study aimed to improve educational access for Alaska Natives entering university in the early 1980's. The authors' began their study by framing the problem as an issue of institutional racial discrimination at key gatekeeping points in the university system, resulting in high rates of Alaska Natives leaving university. On the other hand, the university administration resisted the authors' framing, viewing 'the problem' as an issue of how to *retain* Alaska Native students who they saw as educationally and culturally ill-prepared for an American system of higher education. The authors situated this issue at the nexus of multiple economic and sociopolitical trajectories including the discovery of oil in Alaska's Prudhoe Bay in 1968 leading to an economic boom that gave Alaska Natives greater access to higher education. In addition, upon entering the

university, Alaska Native students themselves found the institution to be a demoralizing, patronizing and totalizing space, prompting them to "seek out educational opportunities elsewhere."

Through their nexus analysis, the authors examined how the divergent points of view, interactions, statements and actions of faculty, administrators, students and community members emerged at the nexus of multiple lines of intersecting discourses, some immediate like a short conversation, and some, like the institutional shock waves of the oil boom, tracing much further back in time. In sum, the authors' research activism was not to solve the situation or propose an authoritative statement of the truth of the situation. Rather, the activism they describe involved sharing their research and questions with students, faculty and others, and interrogating together the heterogenous discourses and practices that constituted their divergent statements of the problem. In this way, the mode of activism they came to was to ask: "how do we deal with the problem of the statement of the problem[?]" (p. 282). This approach is helpful, they argue, when dealing especially with stated social problems attributed to linguistic and cultural difference. As they go on to argue,

> "we see nexus analysis as an 'intervention', but it is one that does not purport to have a positivist solution. We would argue that inquiry is a fundamental human characteristic and a fundamental source of social change…What is incompatible with social activism is an attempt at a positivist knowledge of the outcomes of inquiry. The analytical model is not to begin with inquiry to arrive at the declarative transitive sentence but, on the contrary, to begin with the simple declaratives and to move toward the interrogative, in particular the interrogative of motive: Why?" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 149-150).

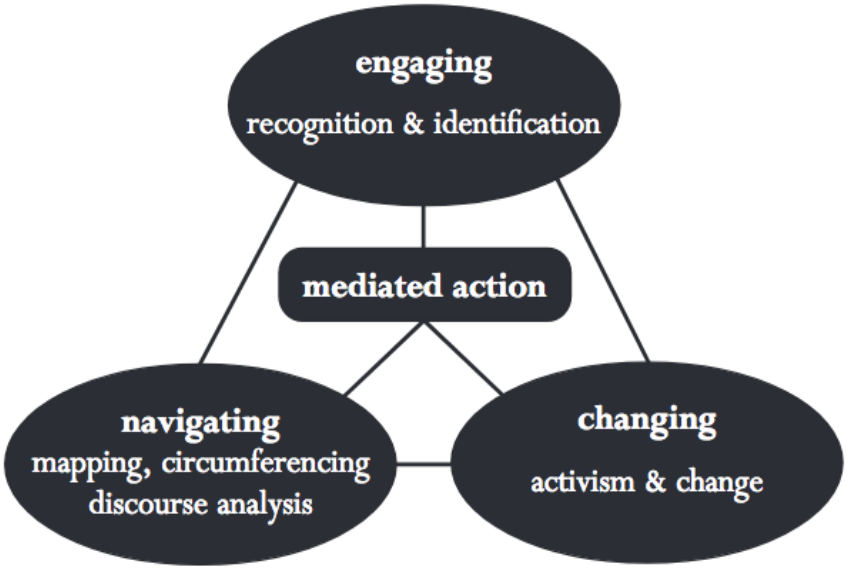


Figure 3.3 Activities of a nexus analysis – *Adopted from Scollon & Scollon (2004)*

Over the course of my two year nexus analysis of Laniākea Beach, however, what positive social change should look like at this beach will not involve a single solution, but will involve a composite of multiple and contradictory points of view. As a participant in this complex composite, I at times question how such an ethnographic inquiry into human-sea turtle interactions at this beach might indeed promote more ethical, democratic and ecosocially healthy human relations with sea turtles. However, nexus analysis encourages researchers to explore ways to 'change the nexus of practice' by "locat[ing] ourselves within meaningful zones of identification and to continue to pursue our active interrogations of the discourses of our lives" (p. 150). Through this research, and locating myself at Laniākea Beach in relation to the wider nexus of practice that converged here, I was able to set in motion certain small institutional shifts in conservation practice through creating new discursive pathways between Mālama na Honu, NOAA, my university and the tourism industry in Hawai'i. In other words, through introducing the different participants in my research to one another and sharing my concerns and questions about discourse and practice with them, this opened up new discursive pathways that had previously not existed, leading to new trajectories of action, such as efforts to improve positive sea turtle tourism messaging to a multilingual audience in Hawai'i. This suggests possibilities for how nexus analysis and similar ethnographic practice-based approaches in applied linguistics

might ‘lay the rails’ (Latour, 1999) for opening lines of inquiry between different stakeholders engaged in addressing problematic human-wildlife relations.

In sum, as Scollon & Scollon (2004) argue, “[t]he outcome of a good nexus analysis is not a clear statement upon which further action may be taken. The outcome of a good nexus analysis is the process of questioning which is carried on throughout the project” (p. 143-145). The degree to which I succeeded in this ‘process of questioning’ can be measured perhaps by the degree to which the chapters to follow raise new questions, or clarify old ones for myself but also for other readers and participants in my study that are grappling with how to create ecoculturally healthy and just human-sea turtle relations along Hawai‘i‘s beaches.

In the sections below, I describe my choices for transcription conventions, why I made these choices and the consequences of these representational choices. Then, I describe the context, data participants in my study at Laniākea Beach. Finally I reflect on my positionality as a researcher and my experiences and reflections with ‘changing the nexus of practice.’

3.6 Choice of transcription conventions and data representation

Because I draw on a range of different kinds of data (audio and video recorded talk-in-interaction, interviews, photos, advertisements, town hall meetings) I make use of multimodal transcription conventions, as presented in mediated discourse studies (Scollon 2001; Scollon and Scollon 2003, 2004; Norris 2004, 2012; Norris and Jones 2005; Jones 2016; Lou and Jaworski 2016; Jaworski and Thurlow 2014). These studies have drawn on transcription conventions developed in conversation analysis (Jefferson 2004; Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974), and sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz 2001; Gumperz 1982). The main concerns that discourse analysts have addressed in any approach to transcription of talk-in-interaction involve 1) an effort to transcribe what was said as much as how it was said including in more recent approaches bodily conduct; 2) a general readability of transcriptions across language specialists and non-specialist alike; and 3) a reflexive awareness that transcripts “are not transparent and unproblematic records of scientific research but are instead creative and politicized documents in which the researcher as author is fully implicated” (Bucholtz 2001, 1440).

My collection of data and decisions on what to transcribe was a cyclical rather than linear process. As Atkinson (2015) argues in his overview of ethnographic research, "Data, irrespective of their physical form, are something to think with and think through. We interact with the data. In doing so, we need to bring ideas *to* the data as well as trying to derive ideas *from* them" (p. 11). In this way, my approach to data collection and transcription was not divided into neat stages of collection, transcription, analysis, and reporting findings, but was a much more rhizomatic process. For instance, when I first began my research, I assumed the legal term harassment in the endangered species act which forms the legal framework behind the protection of sea turtles in Hawai'i was a fairly straightforward matter. But it soon became clear through my conversations and interviews with tourists, volunteers, scientists and law enforcement officials, that the legal ambiguity in the term left much to local interpretations. This led me to investigate the local understandings of accountability involved in what healthy human-sea turtle relations should look like, which turned out to be widely divergent among different actors at the beach. Any discourse data I collected along the way that I found relevant was sorted and organized for ease of reference and transcribed. When data was video recorded, I included transcriptions of the mediation of bodies (gestures, posture, nodding, gaze), objects (brochures, signs, uniforms) technologies (digital cameras) and the built and natural landscape when I found them relevant both to the mediation of action, and participants own orientations to these elements.

Rather than following a single framework for all my transcriptions, I found it necessary to use a variety of approaches to represent different kinds of data (i.e. spoken language, embodied interaction, media data). In transcribing multimodal data, Goodwin (2001) writes that

> The complexity of the phenomena involved [in face-to-face interaction] requires multiple methods for rendering relevant distinctions . . . any transcription system must attend simultaneously to two separate fields, looking in one direction at how to accurately recover through a systematic notation the endogenous structure of the events being investigated, while simultaneously keeping an eye on the addressee/reader of the analysis by attempting to present relevant descriptions as clearly and vividly as possible (p. 161; cited in Norris 2011 p. 80).

In taking these points into consideration, I opted for a range of transcription conventions that 1) allowed me to analyze different modes separately and together, and the relation between modes in the data; and 2) representations of data that provide a clear explanation of the data for readers. In this way, I draw on a set of flexible conventions (Norris 2011) to analyze multimodal data, and my choices in transcribing are largely based on transcription conventions developed in mediated discourse analysis to effectively analyze the 'modal aggregates' or combination of different modes of communication (gesture, gaze, posture, language, objects, spatial arrangements, etc...) in interaction (Norris 2004, 2011; Scollon 2003). For example, in video-recorded data, I draw on conventions in multimodal interaction analysis that involves image-based transcriptions using video screen captures, while in audio-recorded interviews I draw on standard conversation analytic conventions in order to focus on the prosodic elements of stance-taking in narratives. When it comes to the visual analysis of photos and media representations, my analytic framework of mediated discourse analysis draws my attention to the mediated actions involved in visual representations (Scollon, 1998), asking questions about the circulation of these images as they travel from moments of creation and consumption to further moments of recirculation (Scollon 2008). While I draw in part on representational conventions in visual multimodal analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2001), I also turn to a range of innovative studies grappling with this new area of multimodal transcription (Blackledge and Creese, 2017; Canagarajah, 2017; Jaworski and Thurlow, 2014; Laurier, 2014). Throughout, I endeavor to recognize the theoretical framings of my transcription choices (Bucholtz, 2001; Ochs, 1979), and how my own biases and research goals come to shape these choices.

3.7 Context, data and participants

A key question in this effort that this dissertation seeks to contribute to is this: How do our semiotic practices draw us into different kinds of relationships with the natural environment, and what consequences do these relationships have for the well-being of local political ecologies (i.e., the interwoven webs of social, cultural and political life with nonhuman ecological life)? These semiotic practices are socioculturally diverse, historically contingent and situated in everyday moments of embodied and emplaced (inter)action. Examining these human-wildlife interactions raises questions about how diverse values, knowledges and emotions toward nature do not just reflect different points of view about the natural world. These diverse orientations

towards nature also shed light on how our discourses, languages, and ideas transform relations between people, animals and places with real material consequences for the humans and nonhumans involved. In exploring different sites of mediation (embodied interaction with people, place and sea turtles, narratives in interviews, tourism and conservation media, online social media and news discourse), the story of Laniākea Beach that emerged over the course of my research was not a single story, but a knot of multiple interwoven stories. Each story I discovered enacted the beach along different values, logics and practices, with stories sometimes converging or conflicting, even operating alongside one another in mutual disinterest, but all working to establish different versions or contexts of Laniākea Beach. In this way, while not a multi-sited ethnography in the usual sense of ethnographic engagement with different places (although I do draw on publicly available online data from settings beyond – but near – the beach such as local town hall meetings) my research at Laniākea Beach reveals how a single site can involve the *layered simultaneity* (Blommaert, 2005) of multiple sites of engagement. In this way, the methodological approach I take investigates Laniākea Beach as a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) of the same place.

3.7.1 Data

My research at Laniākea Beach extended over a 2 year period from January 2016 – January 2018 and my participant observations primarily involved being an active volunteer with Mālama na Honu, the community activist sea turtle conservation group that maintains a daily presence at the beach, in addition to observing the site in a non-volunteer capacity. This extended participation at the fieldsite provided me with a deeper contextual understanding of the everyday activities that people engage in at Laniākea Beach and the role discourse plays in these activities. I volunteered for over 110 hours, participating in 3 hour shifts 2-3 times per month over this period. I recorded almost everything I could in the initial stages of my fieldwork, as I tried to develop an understanding of the nexus of practice at Laniākea Beach. Over time, I began to isolate the sites of engagement (i.e., face-to-face interaction, human-sea turtle interaction, interviews with tourists and volunteers, media discourse) that I felt were important for understanding the nexus of practice of sea turtle conservation and tourism at Laniākea Beach.

When I began this research, I was keen on observing intercultural communication around sea turtles between Japanese-speaking tourists and the English-speaking volunteers. Yet over the many hours (over one hundred and twenty hours) I spent as a volunteer at the beach, these interactions were exceedingly rare, and mostly confined to brief encounters of volunteers enforcing distance regulations through brief commands ("no!") or embodied gestures designed to interpellate people to "give the honu space." In my observations, Japanese tourists rarely approached volunteers to ask them questions, or even more rarely, were accompanied by a Japanese speaking tour guide who would provide commentary on the sea turtles and other aspects of the beach. However, over the course of my ethnographic research, I was the recipient of many retrospective tellings from the American, English-speaking volunteers about their intercultural interactions at the beach, especially with non-English-speaking 'Asian' tourists, but I rarely saw these encounters in action, always feeling like I was never in the right place at the right time. I admit this was frustrating as the intercultural interactions between volunteers and Japanese tourists was precisely what I had set out to investigate in the beginning. However, in my conversations and interviews with volunteers, as well as through my participation in other volunteers' conversations with one another, I recognized a recurring patterning in their discourse connecting stances (epistemic, affective, evaluative) towards sea turtles, to ethnonational, cultural, linguistic, racial, and other identity categories (Japanese, American, Local, Haole) in their metacommentary on people's different behaviors around sea turtles.

It was these initial observations that led me to more systematically investigate various vehicles of discursive movement – bodies and objects (chapter 4), discourse genres (chapter 5) and stancetaking (chapter 6) – towards people and sea turtles among volunteers and other participants involved in some way with sea turtles, such as local community members and Hawaiian cultural practitioners. While intercultural interactions between volunteers and Japanese tourists rarely occurred, as a Japanese speaker, I proactively engaged with Japanese tourists, asking them to record conversations together and for interviews. For this reason, the vast majority of the spoken interactional data I collected on Japanese language occurred in these interactions where I am a focal participant, and not between other honu guardians and tourists.

There is a sense in which the data collected in this dissertation was produced through conducting a *mobile ethnography* (Hall and Smith 2011) across my tracings of tourism and conservation discourse as it flowed through people, stories, ideas, objects, practices and places, and where data emerged through my encounters across a "multi-sited" engagement (Marcus 1998). Because of the nature of volunteering, involving a transitory population of people that come and go over the months, there were only a few participants I encountered more than once over the course of my ethnography, and the vast majority of volunteers I was always meeting for the first time. Similarly, I never met the same tourist twice, at least not to my knowledge, as flows of ever new people from all over the world marched through the beach. In other words, what was 'mobile' about this ethnography was not as much my movement through place, like walking ethnographies where the ethnographer produced their data through their mobile spatial practices (Lou, 2016), moving past more stationary people and places, but rather through the continual current of people flowing past me, like an eddy in a stream. In this way, Laniākea Beach, as a sea turtle tourism destination, to me felt like a gravitational point in a spacetime continuum that gathered sea turtles, people, objects, practices, discourses and place together through centripetal forces, then sending them along new centrifugal trajectories, having altered these entities and beings in some way in their brief moments of contact at this beach (Scollon and Scollon, 2003). However, as I argue in different ways throughout this dissertation, rather than a mere site of intercultural contact where different cultural frameworks for understanding sea turtles collide and clash, the beach was a place where people's heightened sensitivity to interculturality itself a metadiscursive tool for making sense of different relationships with sea turtles, that new ecocultural configurations emerged.

My initial focus was on how discursive practices (talk-in-interaction, interviews, and discourses of wildlife protection and tourism) produce Laniākea Beach as a particular kind of space (regulated, educational, for entertainment, etc…) and I was especially interested with how human actions and practices were mediated through language use and the semiotic landscape, with a special focus on the use of English, Hawaiian, Pidgin and Japanese in spoken discourse, signs, and print media (brochures, volunteer badges, educational materials). I have collected over 50 hours of audio and video recordings of face-to-face interaction primarily between conservation volunteers and tourist, as well as over 400 photos of the field site. I also conducted

interviews with volunteers, tourists, sea turtle scientists, conservation officials and local residents in the community to give me further insight into the social actors, their interests and attitudes, and the activities they engaged in at Laniākea Beach. I also gained insight into the forms of communication occurring (or not) between these different social actors and institutions. This involved better understanding the fragmented nature of sea turtle tourism in Hawai‘i, especially along linguistic lines, as well as the multiple government agencies involved in sea turtle conservation efforts and their different arenas of jurisdiction.

Within the framework of MDA and nexus analysis, and grounded in critical sociolinguistic approaches to qualitative research (Heller, Pietikäinen & Pujolar, 2017), the approach I take does not see interview subjects as "basically conceived as *passive vessels* of answers to whom interviewers direct their questions" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997; Silverman, 2001; Warren, 2002). Rather, the interview is conceived as a socially situated event that is co-constructed between the interviewer and interviewee, and as such, the interactional dimensions of interviews needs to be taken into account. More specifically, nexus analysis conceives of interviews as "micro-semiotic ecosystems through which many personal, social, economic and other cycles of change" circulate, (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 88). In other words, the interview is a technologized social practice designed to facilitate certain cycles of discourse to "come together to reach a culmination in human action" (p. 89). In this sense, it was important for me to understand the historical cycles of discourse I myself carried into the various interview ecosystems I participated in involving volunteers, tourists, scientists, officials, tour guides, local residents and more.

In carrying out this initial research, I used an audio recorder to record interviews and naturally occurring interactions, a notebook to write down observations and supplement audio recordings, and my smartphone which I used for taking photographs of the field site and short videos of interaction. I found myself writing extensive fieldnotes about contextual aspects not captured in audio recordings such as embodied gestures and spatial configurations of people and sea turtles on the beach. I eventually switched to predominantly taking audio recorded fieldnotes on my smartphone as I found it easier and faster to capture my thoughts in the moment, and not be encumbered by carrying a clipboard and notebook with me everywhere (although I continued to use my notebook for drawing and organizing my emergent ideas in a more visual form). This

also allowed me to record more extensive reflections immediately after interactions I was not prepared to record but felt significant for my research. Throughout this time I was organizing my data into an Excel sheet for clerical purposes so I could locate data more efficiently. To capture naturally occuring audio recordings of interaction at the beach I initially used a large high quality ZOOM H2 recorder. However, after listening back to the audio, the constant ocean waves in the background at the beach often made the audio difficult to hear and especially transcribe. So I eventually realized I would needed to find an alternative method of recording. I opted for a gopro digital camera with an attached shotgun microphone. This set-up enabled me to isolate the audio of interactions on the beach when facing away from the ocean, and eliminate the loud and constant background noise of ocean swell that did an effective job of drowning out talk.

In order to better understand the representations of sea turtles created and circulated by conservation and tourism organizations about and at Laniākea Beach (advertisements, PSA's, brochures, guidebooks and other materials) I also collected data from videos, brochures, websites, advertisements, magazines, guidebooks and signs that these multifaceted organizations produced. These items provided insight into how Laniākea Beach was being marketed by the tourism industry and the representations of the site in commodifying it as a tourist destination. On the conservation side, educational brochures, regulations signs and other materials at the beach and produced by key government agencies helped me to study how discourses of wildlife protection and education came to circulate at Laniākea Beach.

3.7.2 Researching Public spaces

One of the difficulties I encountered in researching a public space like Laniākea Beach was that I was not researching a stable set of participants, but a constant flux of people (and sea turtles) moving through the beach. The only participants that I saw more than once were certain volunteers, a few tour guides, local fishermen and surfers, and the sea turtles that basked at this beach. But even these repeat encounters were few and far between, where I would sometimes see the same volunteer (or sea turtle) again only after several months. This meant that my "identity project" (Harré, 1983) as a researcher was almost always an incipient process, since I only 'thickened' (Holland and Lave, 2001) my identity as a researcher through the repeated

interactions I had with volunteers and sea turtle researchers with whom I established longer term relationships. For example, when I approached tourists to ask them if I could audio-record their interactions, I introduced myself as a student researcher at the university, foregrounding my identity as a researcher, reflexively aware of how I might in turn be influencing these interactions. This became clear when my introduction prompted tourists to ask me what I was researching, leading to unintended conversations about my own research, and what I knew about sea turtle conservation at Laniākea Beach. In these cases, I found myself often being interviewed almost as much as I was attempting to interview.

I also talked with individuals involved in the sea turtle tourism industry (tour guides, airline company spokespersons) as well as individuals involved in the conservation of sea turtles beyond the volunteers at the beach (scientists, and officials from U.S. and Hawai‘i government agencies like Fish and Wildlife, NOAA, and DLNR). These conversations indicated some initial opening up lines of communication between wildlife conservation efforts and a tourism industry highly fragmented along linguistic lines sparked by my research, where, short of passing legislation to regulate nature-based tourism (something that seems unlikely to happen given the State's determination to grow tourism over the next several years), it is difficult, or near impossible to disseminate information about wildlife protection to the entire tourism industry.

3.7.3 Positionality

Ortner (1995) argues that ethnographic research "means many things. Minimally, however, it has always meant the attempt to understand another life world using the self – as much of it as possible – as the instrument of knowing" (p.173, cited in Talmy, 2005, p. 206). The approach I take up in my research at Laniākea Beach is grounded in ethnographic participation at a field site, and the knowledge I produce in this dissertation comes out of this participation. For this reason, it is important to discuss how I – as the primary "instrument of knowing" in this study – made sense of the life world of Laniākea Beach in relation to my own positionality as a researcher. In acknowledging how ethnography is built on the principle of reflexivity, I examine below how my participation at the field site co-constructed, to different extents, the social world I was investigating. Atkinson (2015) notes that recognizing this process

of reflexivity in one's research means developing a reflective practice where "[w]e cannot wish away or control out of existence the effects of reactivity [between researcher and researched]. What we can do is to acknowledge, as far as we can, the essential character of social research *as* a series of social, interpersonal events" (27, emphasis in original). In this section, I describe how the data I collected emerged from my reflexive participation in 'a series of interpersonal events.' Then, I draw on insights on researcher positionality from nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon 2004) and more recent versions of ANT (Law, 2004) that problematize notions of social research as investigating a single, stable, and subjectively detached empirical social world.

Collecting data through participant observation at Laniākea Beach had several consequences for the reflective practice I developed in carrying out my research. First, my own presence and active engagement at the field site sometimes transformed the interactions I took part in as different identities I both "brought along' and 'brought about' (Giddens, 1976) became relevant in these encounters. For example, while volunteering with a conservation organization over the course of my research, many of the volunteers became familiar with my personal history and language background (L1 English, and L2 Japanese, French and Portuguese) through informal conversations we had together, often recruiting me as a language expert to negotiate interactions with international tourists at the beach, as in the example below:

Excerpt 3.1 "He speaks Japanese"
((Volunteer (vol 1) and I (Gav) are talking with two women (Tou 1 and Tou 2), Vol 1 is telling them that the sea turtles will most likely bask later in the day when it gets warmer)).

1 Tou 1: maybe a little bit la:ter
2 Vol 1: mm-hmm (.) a little bit later
3 Tou 1: mm:::
4 Vol 1: so-
5 Tou 1: so [they will be here
6 Vol 1: [where ya'll from
7 Tou 1: Japan↑
8 Vol 1: Oh Japan
9 Tou 2: yea::h
10 Vol 1: Oh! Well Gavin [is one of our volunteers and he [speaks Japanese
11 Gav : [((laughter)) [hi
12 Tou 1: ah! *nihongo!* (Japanese!)

13 Gav : uh *sukoshi* (a little bit) ((laughter))
14 Tou 1: *sugoi sugoi* (great great)
15 Gav 1: *hai* [*ano* (yes, um) ((laughter))
16 Vol 1: [yay! yes! yay! ((clapping hands throughout))

In this interaction, the volunteer informs the tourists that sea turtles will come 'a little bit later,' she then asks 'where y'all from?' in line 6. One of the tourists responds that they are from 'Japan' in line 7, which then leads the volunteer to introduce me, as I am standing next to her, as someone who 'speaks Japanese' (line 10). Interestingly, I laugh in overlap with vol 1's introduction of me in line 11 showing my recognition of the action underway, and my affective uptake of it. As Sacks (1974) argues, "[L]aughs are very locally responsive – if done on the completion of some utterance they affiliate to last utterance and if done within some utterance they affiliate to its current state of development" (Sacks, 1974, p. 348). The fact that I laugh first in this sequence might indicate that I am not taking what Vol 1 is saying (or doing) seriously by resisting being categorized as 'a Japanese speaker.' A more likely alternative, as Glenn (2003) suggests, is that a first laugh during or after a positive assessment may indicate the speaker's self-deprecating uptake of a participant's comment. This seems to be the case here, in my attempt to shape (or lower) other participants' expectations of what it means for me to 'speak Japanese.' Tou 1 responds to all of this exclaiming *nihongo!* [Japanese], to which I take as a question replying "*hai, uh sukoshi*" [yes, uh a little]. This then leads to series of exchanges that culminates in Vol 1 cheering on the newly created Japanese-language interaction underway by clapping and providing positive assessments in line 16 ("Yay, yes, yay!").

3.7.4 Negotiating engagement and detachment

Examining this conversation with volunteers and tourists aims to show how my participation in these interactions co-constructed a large portion of data I collected at the field site. This highlights a tension expressed in ethnographic research in negotiating degrees of researcher engagement and detachment with participants in the field to gain empirical insight into social life. Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton and Richardson (1992) comment on this tension, in problematizing anxieties in language research around positivist notions of 'validity' and 'objectivity.' The authors argue that "researchers should not try to pretend that their subjects

can be studied as if the former were outside the social universe that included the latter" (p. 86). Rather, researchers, as 'socially located persons,' are caught up in the social universe of their participants. From this perspective, "researcher and researched should interact" and it is mistaken to think that "there is some pristine social reality 'out there' waiting to be discovered by an investigator who is herself neutral and detached from it" (87). Acknowledging how I can never be neutral and detached as a researcher led me to reflect on my personal motivations (environmental advocacy) and academic interests (human-environment discursive practices) for doing research on human-sea turtle relations at Laniākea Beach and how this affected the research events from I collected data.

3.8 Conclusion: Changing the nexus of practice

This tension between ethnographic engagement and detachment also surfaced throughout my research in thinking about how I might influence some kind of positive social-environmental change through my research at Laniākea Beach. From the perspective of nexus analysis, the potential to create positive social change comes not simply through producing a set of statements about discourse to base a platform for further advocacy, but by "locat[ing] ourselves within meaningful zones of identification and to continue to pursue our active interrogations of the discourses of our lives" (Scollon and Scollon 2004). In locating myself in what I chose to be a meaningful research site for asking questions about the complex dynamics of human-wildlife relations, I engaged in hundreds of conversations with a diverse range of people. Over the course of my research I reflected on how these interactions involved different forms of engagement and detachment. For example, my interactions with tourists were often fleeting and somewhat detached, while I developed more engaged and enduring relationships with volunteers or scientists. At other times, my research seemed to have little or no hope of effecting positive change in relations around wildlife. Realizing that both sea turtle populations and sea turtle tourism will continue grow in Hawai'i, exactly what healthy relations between people and turtles should look like in a future of increasing human-wildlife entanglements seemed to require situated responses to address the diverse local circumstances of people, animals and place, rather than broad recommendations. In other words, the 'problems' of Laniākea Beach (harmful human-sea turtle interactions, overregulation of human-sea turtle interactions by conservation

volunteers, and "turtle traffic" from overtourism) were multiple, situated in place and historically contingent, and whatever solution worked there would not necessarily work elsewhere. However, my research was able to set in motion (very small) institutional shifts in conservation practice around sea turtles (regulation sign translations into multiple languages, and new communication links between conservation organizations and the tourism industry in Hawai‘i) suggesting there may be a possibility of this kind of research to promote more robust communicative networks among institutions and industries to address problematic human-wildlife relations. I discuss some implications of this in the conclusion of this dissertation.

In addition, insights from combining nexus analysis and ANT led me to reflect on how I myself was enacting specific assemblages through my interactions at the beach as much as these assemblages were enacting me. Law (2004) refers to this mutual shaping of researcher and researched as a *method assemblage*. This approach emphasizes that ethnographic research involves human and nonhuman elements – people, objects, place and sea turtles – and that these elements are always in a state of co-becoming, rather than simply co-being. In other words, I began to consider how diverse human semiotic practices were not simply enacting Laniākea Beach as a particular kind of place (tourist destination, conservation zone, surf spot, fishing hole), but how sea turtles were enacting Laniākea Beach, and me, too. On the one hand, sea turtles became an accidental methodological tool for me to understand how multiple epistemologies (ways of knowing) and ontologies (ways of being) were in a continual flux of co-construction, whether through my own research practices or through the actions of others, both human and nonhuman.

CHAPTER 4

DISCOURSE ITINERARIES OF SEA TURTLE TOURISM

> *"The in-depth study of tourism imaginaries—tracing their historical and semiotic makings, while keeping the very material effects of the processes in view—reveals that they are potent propellers of socio-cultural and environmental change, and essential elements in the process of identity formation, the making of place, and the perpetual invention of culture"*
>
> – Salazar 2012, p. 876

4.1 Introduction

The sea turtle tourism industry in Hawai‘i involves floods of sea turtle representations flowing through airports, hotel lobbies, television screens, streets signs, t-shirts, tourist brochures, guidebooks, websites, tour guide talk and more. Spend just a few days walking through the towns and urban areas of Hawai‘i and you are likely to also see the iconic images of sea turtles appearing on bumper stickers, jewelry, store front logos and t-shirts. On an average day, several thousand "turtle tourists" ebb and flow through this beach to experience green sea turtles up close and in person, perhaps even swim with them in the ocean too, and especially to procure photographic evidence of their sea turtle encounter to share online with family, friends and a global social media audience. In this chapter, I trace how a sea turtle tourism discourse of "spectacular nature" (Davis, 1997) circulates across different stages of the tourist experience: from the tourism media tourists consume in print and on screen before arriving at Laniākea Beach, to their embodied interactions in place once arrived at the beach, and finally to the online remediation of their experiences on social media. I situate the sea turtle tourism practices emerging at this beach within the historical context of the rapidly growing global wildlife-based ecotourism industry. Scholars of environmental communication have tied the global rise in wildlife tourism to the tourism industry's mobilization of a powerful environmental discourse of spectacle (Davis, 1997; Lorimer, 2015). This discourse positions humans as audience to the awe-inspiring performance of animals and nature, and is lucratively harnessed by the wildlife tourism industry to commodify human encounters with certain 'charismatic species' that have wide public appeal, like dolphins, orcas, elephants, and of course, sea turtles.

While on one level this discourse can establish powerful affective connections between humans and wildlife, these connections are argued to be embedded in the global tourism industry's mass-commodification of exotic nature, an industry itself grounded in older colonial logics that Other, control, and exploit people, animals and the natural world for economic gain. As a consequence, the kinds of ecocultural knowledges, emotional connections, and power relations the discourse of spectacle makes possible for human relations with animals and nature appear to be at best, superficial and anthropocentric, and at worst, socially and environmentally damaging.

However, as tourists and the tourist industry mobilize and attempt to control the flow of an environmental discourse of spectacle, they must navigate the necessary contingencies of local communicative circumstances. Because of this, tourists' actual practices in place inevitably bring this discourse of spectacle, no matter how embedded in capitalist and colonial logics, into syncretic *dialogue* (Bakhtin, 1981) with local webs of other languages, cultures, politics, and ecologies. As tourists circulate a particular discourse through these syncretic spaces of local-global connection, they do not simply reproduce or contest hegemonic tourism discourses of animals and nature; they also produce new configurations of nature, culture and power in the process (Marafiote & Plec, 2006; Milstein, 2009)

In the present study, I extend this dialogic perspective on environmental discourse to examine how a sea turtle discourse of spectacle circulates across different sites of offline and online mediation and remediation, drawing attention to the new kinds of ecocultural actions and identities that emerge in tourists encounters with sea turtles. This approach, then, brings focus for applied linguists to the situated complexity of how environmental discourse gets mobilized in people's everyday environmental actions. In part, it addresses not just what wildlife tourism discourses manifest in different localities, but *how* these discourses are actually made to spread through these places to influence a broad public audience. But as discourse is made to spread, it also enters into dialogue with other discourses and materialities along the way. Viewing tourism discourse as *dialogue* – albeit a dialogue laden with unequal power relations – helps to appreciate the complexities and contradictions of environmental discourses shaping wildlife-

based tourism destinations around the world. Figure 3.1 in chapter 3 aims to provide a visual understanding of the three broad interdiscursive trajectories that constitute this view of discourse involving a dialogue among three discursive cycles that converge in moments of action: discourses in place, the interaction order, and the historical body.

4.2 Sea turtle ecotourism at Laniākea Beach, Hawai‘i and the discourse of ‘spectacle’

Laniākea Beach on the North Shore of the island of O’ahu in the Hawaiian archipelago has become an enormously popular tourist destination to encounter Hawaiian green sea turtles in their natural habitat. Shaping the transformation of this beach space in to an extremely popular sea turtle tourism destination, I argue, is a discourse of spectacular wildlife (Davis, 1997) that molds the sea turtle ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry & Larsen 2011) at Laniākea Beach in powerful ways. At its core, the discourse of spectacular nature that drives the expansion of a global nature-based tourism industry is about defining how we see and experience our relation to the nonhuman natural world. As Franklin and Crang (2001) argue, “Touristic culture is more than the physical travel, it is the preparation of people to see other places as objects of tourism . . . the touristic gaze and imaginary shape and mediate our knowledge of and desires about the rest of the planet. (p. 10). This wildlife discourse of spectacle is mobilized by tourism stakeholders around the world to shape potential tourists’ expectations, knowledges, and desires about animals and the natural world in efforts to commoditize close up human encounters with wild animals.

In tracing the origins of a contemporary wildlife tourism discourse of spectacle, researchers have situated its emergence within broader historical, political and economic processes that have transformed contemporary human perceptions of and relations to the natural environment. Lorimer (2015) provides a detailed accounting of how the global circulation of an ecotourism discourse of ‘spectacular nature’ can be traced to the increasing neoliberalization of environmental conservation movements in the United States. As state-sponsored conservation efforts began to fade after World War II, funding for global conservation ‘portfolios’ began to rely increasingly on private, citizen-consumer funding. This in turn led towards increasing emphasis on spectacular wildlife imagery that could commoditize growing fascination with wildlife and wild places. This was especially the case in efforts to craft the spectacular imagery

of ‘charismatic’ flagship species like pandas, tigers and elephants as icons of conservation, imagery that was then circulated through print-based and screen-based discursive conduits like wildlife documentaries, nature magazines, and cartoons. By the 1980s and 90s, however, the global tourism industry, in seeking to promote and capitalize on the nature-based ‘experience economy’ (Pine & Gilmore, 1998), pounced on the emerging niche-market of “nature lovers” – initially wealthy, white and Western, but increasingly transnational in origin – who had grown up with this spectacular nature imagery and held desires to experience in person the spectacular nature they had only ever witnessed in magazines or on the screen.

With this rise of nature-based ecotourism, researchers examining the ecotourism discourse of spectacle argue that it fetishizes human encounters with animals through processes of commodification, resulting at best in fetishized human connections with animals and nature (cf. Debord, 1967/2012),[33] and at worst, contributing to socioeconomic injustices in communities, and obfuscation of ecotourism as a cause of ecological degradation (Carrier & MacLeod 2005). Despite sustainability being the mantra for ecotourism, as Adams (2004) argues, in manifesting the “destructiveness of conventional mass tourism,” wildlife tourism “was [just] as much about trying to establish a means for the tourist industry to sustain itself” (p. 210).

4.3 Nexus analysis as a dialogic approach to sea turtle tourism discourse

To examine how a sea turtle tourism discourse of spectacle continually transforms Laniākea Beach into a sea turtle tourism destination, I bring two areas of research into dialogue. First, I build on a growing body of tourism studies that draw on the concept of circulation to examine how tourism networks come into being and transform relations among people, objects, nature and place. The concept of *circulation* in tourism studies builds in particular on insights from actor-network theory (ANT). As tourism researchers van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson (2013) suggest, ANT “insists that researchers should refute all pregiven distinctions between categories of possible actors (natural/social, local/global, and economic/cultural) and focus

[33] More specifically, in critiquing the commodified spectacularization of nature, critics draw on Guy Debord’s (1967/2012) Marxist critique of the ‘society of spectacle’ to analyze people’s alienation from authentic experience with nature encouraged through the fetishization of wildlife representations.

instead on the process of network building and network consolidation" (p. 6). In this sense, circulation foregrounds the material stuff that enables tourism discourse travel: roads, airports, tourists, shop-owners, signs, gasoline, money, food, credit cards, hotels, restaurants, souvenirs, phrase books, and tourists themselves... And it examines on how tourism actors work to exercise control over, or contest the flow of semiotic and material resources through these conduits of circulation.

In addition, mediated discourse approach to circulation highlights the *dialogicality* (Bakhtin 1981) of environmental discourses that circulation calls attention to: how every utterance or action we take up in relation to animals and nature responds to network of different 'voices,' some more obvious participants in our actions than others (Gal, 1996). These voices may involve human actions, voices 'submerged' (Scollon & Scollon 2003) in the material world, or even those voices articulated through the agentive capacities of nonhuman nature, for example through the shifting eco-dynamics of nearshore spaces or the ethology of sea turtle behavior. Following Bakhtin (1986), "Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies upon the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account…" (p. 91). A dialogic approach, then, helps appreciate how sea turtle tourists do more than either reproduce or resist a colonial/commodifying discourse of animals and nature as spectacles. As Marafiote and Plec (2006) suggest, a dialogic approach calls on researchers to move beyond these 'either/or' analyses of environmental discourse, manifesting in people's actions as either the negative human exploitation of nature, or more positive modes of human harmony with nature.[34] Instead a dialogic approach helps to draw our attention to the novel, heteroglossic, and unfinalizable configurations of nature, culture and power forged in tourists' encounters with wildlife. Figure 4.1 below serves to situate this dialogic approach to discourse, that I take up in this dissertation in relation to other theories of environmental communication:

[34] In applied linguistics, Higgins (2009) develops a similar dialogic approach to discourse analysis in critiquing either/or analyses of the hegemonic effects of global English on linguistic diversity in an East African context. She suggests a more nuanced 'transcultural approach' to better understand these local-global discursive tensions instead: "Rather than studying how people have resisted, rejected or adapted colonial modes, a transcultural approach is rewarding because it examines how people create new spaces, new cultures and new languages with their local and global resources" (p. 12).

Theories of environmental discourse				
Theories	Nature/Culture dualism	Materialistic/Idealistic Monism	A Triad of dialectics	Dialogism
Example	"Nature is everything not built or influenced by humans"	"is anything really unnatural if humans are part of nature too?"	Mastery <–> Harmony Othering <–> Connection Exploitation <–> Idealism	Environmental communication as a syncretic space of hybrid and shifting assemblages of multiple environmental discourses
Contribution	helps to identify prevalent view that defines nature as separate and untouched by humans	Helps shed light on human/nature relations not as radically separate but as interconnected	Helps inform much of mainstream Western discourse about nature (especially as it aligns on the left sides of these dialectics)	"brings to environmental communication a means through which to examine the polyvalent contradictions and complexities present within individuals' utterances" (p. 61)
Limitation	Poses difficulty for making sense of connection and reciprocity in human/nature relations	Still retains either/or dualism, where humans and nature interact but still remain as separate categories	While more fluid and dialectic, still tends to lead to either/or analyses of environmental discourse	Can potentially obscure or mitigate insights gleaned from other approaches due to its focus on multiplicity and syncretism

Figure 4.1 Theories of environmental communication – (adapted from Marafiote & Plec, 2006; Milstein, 2009)

4.4 Data Analysis

In the section below, I draw on the complementary approaches in mediated discourse analysis and tourism studies inspired by ANT outlined above to analyze three circuits of mediation that are key sites of circulation that enable a particular sea turtle discourse of spectacle to influence tourists' expectations, desires and actions with sea turtles. These sites of mediation illustrate the recursive feedback between (1) mediatization of Laniākea Beach as a tourism destination in the circulation of tourism media; (2) tourists' in-situ embodied performances of Laniākea beach; and (3) tourists' remediated circulation of these moments of activity at the beach to online social media (see figure 4.2 below). How exactly a sea turtle tourism discourse of spectacle comes to influence tourists' actions at a beach in Hawai'i is a question that merits ethnographic inquiry to understand the local cultural and material mechanisms that make this influence possible. The approach I take here draws attention to the semiotic work that goes into getting a discourse to travel, the circuits of travel that make its movement possible, and the transformations discourse undergoes – adding or leaving behind different elements – along the

way (cf.Salazar, 2012). In the analysis below, I trace these semiotic and material transformations as a discourse of sea turtle tourism itinerates through objects, artifacts, bodies, place, and online networks of circulation to transform Laniākea Beach into a sea turtle tourism destination.

Figure 4.2 Discourse itineraries of sea turtle tourism at Laniākea Beach

To better capture the complexity of these discursive transformations, I bring this work into conversation with studies in *mediated discourse analysis* (Scollon, 2001; Norris and Jones 2005) that shed light on how discourse 'itinerates' (Scollon, 2008) or is multimodally transformed across offline-online channels of communication (see Jones 2009; Lou and Jaworski 2016). Examining how discourse is transformed, or 'resemiotized' (Iedema, 2003) across different sites of mediation, these studies help to appreciate how our "actions, practices, texts and objects itinerate along over such sequences of transformation, now material, now discursive, now actional" (Scollon, 2008, p. 243). In particular, I draw inspiration from Thurlow and Jaworski's (2014) mediated discourse study of tourists' embodied and online mediation of the built landscape of the Leaning Tower of Pisa in Italy. Rather than simply visiting a pre-existing place, the authors show how Pisa emerges as a tourist destination through the two-way street of tourist place mediation. In other words, the semiotic landscape of Pisa "mediates visitors' movements and actions in the site, just as tourists' movements and actions also mediate the site itself" (p.

466). In this chapter, I extend these ideas to examine a tourist destination that involves co-mediation not just between humans and built landscapes, but between humans, animals and natural landscapes too.

4.5 Tracing the circuits of mediation at Laniākea Beach

4.5.1 Circuit 1: Mediatization and the 'sea turtle tourist gaze'

Tourism researchers have described the promotion of tourism destinations as essentially a visual activity, involving a flow of cultural representations that cultivate specific imaginations about tourism objects and places. This work has especially drawn on Urry's (2002) notion of the 'tourist gaze,' that suggest gazing is not merely seeing a pre-existing world, but is filtered through the lenses of individual and cultural experience, and molded by the interests and agendas of groups and institutions (cf. Foucault 1976). But as Urry and Larsen (2011) emphasize, the tourist gaze is not just about the shaping of vision, but also the shaping of embodied interaction with the world in sight: "gazees often have a burning desire to touch, stroke, walk or climb upon and even collect the animals, plants, ruins, buildings and art objects that they lay their eyes upon" (199). This has led to a greater interest among tourism scholars to examine how tourism representations are actually performed by tourism actors as they enact and transform the material make-up of tourist destinations. As Salazar (2012) notes, a focus on how these 'tourism imaginaries' enact tourism destinations through their circulation helps move beyond mere ideological critique of tourism representations, to elucidate how these representations actually produce the material conditions of tourism places.

In considering wildlife tourism destinations like Laniākea Beach, this approach draws our attention to how tourism imaginaries of wildlife and nature are actually transported through distinct material artifacts and spatial layouts, embodied practices, and their networked relations. Tourism representations of human-sea turtle encounters at Laniākea Beach are designed to evoke feelings of excitement, awe, and communion with these animals. The enactment of these representations in tourists' embodied encounters with sea turtles is evident in tourists' overwhelming desires to be as close as possible to, to swim alongside, and to physically touch, hold, and at times even ride a sea turtle. However, as this sea turtle imaginary circulates through this beach space, a counter-discourse of sea turtle protection is also on the move, with both

streams of sea turtle tourism and protection mixing together and transforming one another as they circulate. First, consider the images below of tourists encounters with sea turtles in Hawai‘i selected from some of the imagery used in tourism advertisements online. Figures 4.3 and 4.4 come from an English-language website advertising a highly popular “Turtle Eco Adventure Oahu Hawaii Tour.”

Figure 4.3 Mediatized image of snorkeler

Figure 4.4 Mediatized image of snorkeler

Figure 4.5 “Turtle Eco Adventure Oahu Hawaii Tour”

In terms of salience, drawing on van Leeuwen (2008), Stibbe (2015) describes how certain actors, actions and representations of space and time manifest through imagery and text. In figure 4.5 above, this tour is described as the "Turtle Eco Adventure Oahu Hawaii Tour." This highlights both the primary object of the tour as 'turtles' juxtaposing 'eco' and 'adventure' and foregrounding both a nature-based tourist experience with 'adventure,' invoking a host of recreational imaginations to be experienced in this space. In describing how tourists will be able interact with turtles "in their natural habitat," or where tourists may "even get to snorkel with them," we see both how interpretations of this space, as "natural" or "wild" are developed, as well as how people might expect to encounter sea turtles in relation to each other in this "secret location" of Laniākea beach. These expectations of social interaction are also visually represented in the image of the woman posing with a turtle in the foreground. More specifically, by foregrounding the uniqueness, secretness and naturalness of this space, the salience or foregrounding of particular representations of nature, relations between social actors as well as expected forms of social interaction emerge through this eco-tour advertisement's construction of Laniākea beach as an "eco adventure" destination.

The uniqueness of this tour in particular is foregrounded ("…unlike any other," "a truly unique tour") in constructing a 'tourist imaginary' (Salazar 2006) of Laniākea beach. In terms of erasure, what is backgrounded or absent from this representation of Laniākea beach is notably the presence of other tourists, the Mālama na Honu volunteers and the semiotic infrastructure they set up each day (signs, ropes, brochures) as well as the legal and ethical guidelines for interacting with sea turtles described in the above sections. This raises questions of how expectations of human-turtle interactions are built up in guidebooks and advertisments of Laniākea beach, with implications for potentially problematic human-sea turtle interactions at this beach. A further example is figure 4.6 below from a popular free Japanese guidebook distributed throughout Waikīkī further illustrates touristic representations of human-sea turtle interactions at Laniākea Beach.

Figure 4.6 "Full of deep emotion": Japanese-language turtle tour advertisement: *adopted from Kaukau, a free Japanese language magazine directed towards Hawai'i tourists*

The advertisement in figure 8 above promotes the "North Shore Ecotour" (ノースショア•エコツアー), where tourists will experience 'deep emotion' (感動ぎっしり) in their encounters with sea turtles at "Turtle Beach" (ウミガメビーチ). Notably, it states, "get up close and intimate with sea turtles," (ウミガメに急接近！) "and snorkel with them in a fun, all-inclusive package!" （ベストシュノーケリングも全て無料で楽しめます）. Again, we find a similar erasure of volunteers and warning signs at the beach, as well as any mention of conservation efforts or regulatory guidelines for human-sea turtle interactions.

This brief analysis aims to shed light on some of the initial observations to be made from representations of Laniākea beach in these tourist guidebooks. Further questions this raises

include whether tourists/visitors to Laniākea beach consider themselves to be ‘ecotourists,’ as well as how experiences to be had at this beach draw on culturally diverse experiences of nature (Urry 2002), culturally specific representations of human-wildlife relations, as well as how interactional and experiential expectations are molded by these visual and discursive texts.

The proximal embodied encounters between humans and sea turtles depicted in figures 4.3 – 4.6 highlight the strategic representational practices that the tourism industry in Hawai‘i deploys to construct powerful anticipatory imaginaries of tourist encounters with sea turtles and beach spaces. Milstein (2008) describe how wildlife tourism imaginaries such as these create the anticipation of opportunities for ‘crossover’ into the nonhuman world: where embodied proximity to wildlife and nature invokes a therapeutic space for finding one’s ‘authentic self’ (Milstein 2008). Figure 4.5 above comes from the “Turtle Eco Adventure Oahu Hawaii Tour” website. The image on the right shows a tourist positioned behind a sea turtle gesturing with a ‘shaka,’ an iconic hand gesture associated with Hawai‘i’s ‘hang loose’ and easy-going surfing culture consisting of an outstretched thumb and pinky. These images are juxtaposed with text providing an overview of this “truly unique tour” that is “unlike any other,” where tourists can interact with sea turtles “in their natural habitat,” and “even get to snorkel with them.” In addition, the pervasive branding of sea turtle tours as ‘eco’ tours in Hawai‘i often has little or nothing to do with sustainability-based tourism practices normally associated with the definition of ecotourism, and instead indexes that the tour will simply involve animals or nature as an attraction of some kind. I found this fairly loose definition of ‘eco’ in the branding practices of sea turtle tours to be applied not only to tours catering to English-speaking tourists, but also prevalent in Japanese advertisements as well. One Japanese-language tour to Laniākea Beach for example promotes a “North Shore Ecotour” (ノースショア•エコツアー), where tourists will experience ‘deep emotion’ (感動ぎっしり) in their encounters with sea turtles at “Turtle Beach” (ウミガメビーチ).

This turtle tourism imaginary, however, does not simply diffuse through the world, but depends on a social and material network of circuits through which discursive elements associated with a discourse of sea turtle tourism moves through the world. These circuits include turtle tour company websites like the one above, but also personal blogs, brochures, television

ads, in-flight magazine advertisements, guidebooks, travel agencies, hotel lobby information desks, and more. Waikīkī, the tourist hub of Hawai‘i located in urban Honolulu is a key site of circulating a sea turtle discourse of spectacle, strategically located to interpellate tourists as they move through this space. Figures 4.6 – 4.8 below are the material circuits the “Turtle Eco Adventure Oahu Hawaii Tour” deploys to persuasively enroll tourists into its turtle tour network:

Figure 4.6 North Shore Hawaii Turtle Tours Vendor

Figure 4.7 Free multilingual tourist magazines in Waikīkī

Figure 4.8 Mobile turtle tour advertising

Figure 4.6 is one of multiple kiosks located through Waikīkī where vendors interpellate passing tourists with enticing imagery and spoken discourse of the sea turtles at Laniākea Beach. The vendor I talked with offered me a special discounted price of $70 marked down from $99 dollars to travel around the island of O‘ahu including a stop of 60 minutes at ‘turtle beach’ where I was told I could snorkel with sea turtles. Figure 4.7 shows one of several “free brochure stands” where advertisements for this and many other turtle tour companies can be found. These brochures and magazines are heavily circulated at key tourist points of contact (shopping areas, hotel lobbies, street corners), and are printed in several languages including English, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, and Spanish, indicating the language backgrounds of the primary tourist

markets in Hawai‘i. Finally, figure 4.8 shows a man riding a motorized scooter, wearing a “north shore turtle tour” shirt and hat, and with signs and brochures advertising the same tour attached to his vehicle. As he passed me and other tourists he shouted out ‘turtles’ along the way, revealing yet another way a sea turtle discourse of spectacle is equipped, in this case with wheels, to spread more effectively. These efforts appear to deliver a discourse of spectacular sea turtles quite persuasively, as hundreds of turtle tourists are delivered by this and other turtle tour companies to Laniākea Beach daily, the next circuit of discursive circulation that I examine below.

4.5.2 Circuit 2: The semiotic landscape of Laniākea Beach

The sea turtle tourism industry in Hawai‘i is skilled at circulating a discourse of sea turtle toursm across offline and online conduits: in-flight advertisements, free magazines in hotel lobbies, travel blogs, print guidebooks, tour guide talk and more. However, when alternative discourses appear on the scene, in particular a discourse of sea turtle conservation, different voices converge and conflict in the same space. Consider the images below that show some of the material elements that make up the semiotic landscape of sea turtle tourism at Laniākea Beach: educational signs describing sea turtle ecology, protective red ropes placed around basking sea turtles, ‘official’ warning signs invoking federal laws, unofficial signs made by community activists displaying the names of familiar individual sea turtles, and ethical statements like “show turtles *aloha*” which invokes a touristic Hawaiian language resource, aloha, meaning here something akin to respect or love, which interpellates tourists and asks them to recognize the ethical dimension of their conduct with sea turtles.

Figure 4.9 Five sea turtles basking on the beach – each with individual identification signs placed in front of each sea turtle (e.g. Wooley-Bully, Missy, etc…)

Figure 4.10 Hao basking at Laniākea Beach. An identification sign provides a brief bio of Hao. 'L-28' written in the top left corner indicates Hao was the 28th sea turtle to begin basking at this beach in recorded history.

Figure 4.11 An official regulation sign designed by staff at the National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). Code preference is in English with partial translations in Japanese. This mobile sign is placed and removed daily on the beach by sea turtle volunteers.

Figure 4.12 Regulation sign attached to tree similar to figure 4.11 but *without Japanese translations. on the beach designed by staff at the National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration (NOAA). Code preference is in English with partial translations in Japanese.*

Figure 4.13: A warning sign indicating 'slippery rocks.' When there is extensive algae growth on the rocks, lifeguards place these signs with yellow caution tape to (try to) prevent tourists from walking on these rocks, with limited success.

Figure 4.14: 'Shark sighted' sign. *After a shark sighting, lifeguards place a warning sign to 'keep out' tourists where they are likely to want to snorkel or swim with sea turtles.*

These images help to illustrate how the built and natural landscape are a part of the dialogic relations in this space that intersect with people's embodied histories of experience that mediate their interaction with objects and the spatial layout of this nearshore area, as well as the spoken discourse of face-to-face interaction at the beach. In sociolinguistic studies of the semiotic landscape, the built environment is often described as the world of human artifice, design and instrumental means-end relations (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008). However, the distinction between human artifice and nonhuman nature is problematic at Laniākea Beach. We might note how the presence of sea turtles at this beach at all is in part due to decades of sea turtle conservation efforts involving intense human intervention (nesting monitoring, veterinary care, tagging and tracking) to revitalize the species. Indeed, just a few

decades ago, sea turtles never basked at Laniākea Beach. Furthermore, some surfers told me that the reason sea turtles bask at this beach is because people routinely fed these creatures in the 1990's when they first began basking, with some people bringing baskets of lettuce to the beach and attracting more in the process. Regardless of whether this is true or not, there is a discourse among some local residents I talked to that these turtles are not entirely natural, and perhaps their frequent basking may even by an indication that these creatures' natural behavior has been altered as they have become habituated to humans, or more concerning, even domesticated by humans. So can we truly say that their basking is completely 'natural'? Finally, the landscape of Laniākea Beach has been greatly affected by increasing erosion due to anthropogenic climate change effects such as rising sea levels. As these human-influenced aspects of the natural landscape and sea turtles basking indicate, it is difficult to make claims of clean divides marking where nonhuman nature ends and human artifice begins, despite the frequent invocation of such a human/nature divide in discourse studies of the semiotic landscape.

However, Scollon & Scollon (2004) discussion of "submerged discourse" offers one way to reconceptualize this enduring dualism between human discourse and the natural environment. This is in part because their notion of discourses in place as discourse submerged in the material world seeks to investigate the trajectories of action and discourse internalized in objects, material signs, tools and physical landscape that lie "outside of the clear courses of spoken language..." (136). Consider, for example, how discourse is submerged in some of the more obvious elements of the human-artificed semiotic landscape. In figures 4.9 –4.14, signs and ropes are emplaced in this beach space by community sea turtle volunteers, or 'honu guardians' (honu meaning 'green sea turtle' in Hawaiian) to circulate a discourse of sea turtle protection. Taking images 4.11 and 4.12 for example, a discourse of wildlife protection is in part explicitly displayed through the written language on these signs: "Sea turtles are protected by federal and state laws. Please stay behind the red rope." The second sentence here is translated into Japanese as well: 赤いロープの後ろに下がってください ((*akai roupu no ushiro ni sagatte kudasai*))," indexing the intended Japanese speaking audience of its designers. The emplacement of this sign in relation to sea turtles a few feet away is both indexically linked to these creatures through spatial proximity, while also symbolically invoking a set of broader narratives of legal environmental discourse and ethical human-animal relations. Some of the regulation signs here are more permanently

emplaced, such as the sign attached to a tree in figure 4.12 (or other signs nearby attached to cemented metal poles). However, other signs are much more mobile (such figures 4.9 – 4.11), where emplacement is determined by the unpredictable locations sea turtles 'choose' to locate themselves on the beach from day to day. This reveals how sea turtles themselves interpellate human discursive practices, shaping the movement of people, objects, and signs through their active agency.

More so, beyond animals, Figures such as 4.13 and 4.14 reveal how other aspects of nature exert influence on place, and therefore, also dialogue with people's mobilization of a discourse of spectacle in moving through this space. For example, in Figure 4.13, lifeguards place signs ('Slippery Rocks') and yellow warning tape along the entrance to the beach. This is due to the increased growth of algae on the rocks during the summer months, making them especially dangerous for tourists walking across them to approach sea turtles. Or in figure 4.14, a shark sighting prompts lifeguards to close the beach and put up warning signs where tourists are most likely to enter the ocean to snorkel or swim with sea turtles. These images illustrate how nature-based tourism spaces are dialogically constructed from interweaving communicative agendas. In addition, these signs also reveal the agentive identities of animals and nature too, revealing beaches as unpredictable, lively places, enacted not only by people, but by all sorts of nonhuman actors, notably sea turtles, but also sharks, algae and rocks. To further consider how discourse becomes submerged in the material world, in moving to the next circuit, I examine how not only the material landscape, but also the material body is a prime conduit for circulating sea turtle tourism discourse.

4.5.3 Circuit 3: Tourists' embodied mediation of Laniākea Beach

4.5.3.1 Body movement and positioning

It is clear that one of the most exciting prospects of visiting Laniākea Beach is the potential opportunity to swim with sea turtles. When not resting on the beach, sea turtles can often be found foraging on the green algae close to shore, allowing tourists to simply wade into the nearshore area to be with them in their watery environment. This poses a dilemma for

conservation volunteers at this beach however, as the red ropes and signs are confined to land, leaving only the verbal admonitions of the volunteers to prevent people from getting too close to sea turtles in the water. It is a common sight to observe volunteers issuing commands in English (e.g. give the *honu* space! Move back!) from the beach to tourists swimming with sea turtles in the nearshore area of the beach. A main concern of these volunteers is the tendency for tourists to surround a swimming sea turtle, leaving it 'trapped' amidst a swarm of eager tourists. This can be seen in Figure 4.15 for example, as tourists clad with snorkel gear wade around a sea turtle just under the surface of the water.

Figure 4.15 Snorkelers surrounding turtle

Figure 4.16 Watching turtles along shore

Furthermore, Figure 4.16 shows how the 'built' infrastructure of red ropes and signs of the conservation volunteers only goes as far as the shoreline. Here, tourists occupy both terrestrial and aqueous environments as they observe sea turtles. These images show how tourists' embodied practices are organized around the performance of sea turtles as these creatures shift from land to sea and back again, creating a dynamic and shifting interaction order, as well as challenges for the conservation volunteers negotiating the movements of both humans and sea turtles through this space. In attempting to enforce a distance of 10 feet between humans and sea turtles, while on land volunteers can place signs, ropes and their physical bodies to block tourists from approaching sea turtles too closely. In water, distance enforcement requires a bit more discursive negotiation. In the excerpt below, for example, two volunteers on land coach a tourist swimming in the near shore waters on how to interact with an approaching sea turtle.

Excerpt 4.1

Turtle 1: ((a juvenile sea turtle swims within touching distance of a wading tourist))
Volun. 1: So watch out he's right in front of ya if you just stand there he'll just swim by ya
Tourist 1: ((the tourist is wading in water up to his waist, looks up at volunteer))
Volun. 2: yeah just stay still
Volun. 1: yeah just stay still, if you can back up a little bit that'd be great
Tourist 1: ((looks back down at sea turtle but is no longer wading towards it))

As the volunteers in excerpt 4.1 instruct this tourist to 'just stand there,' the tourist seems to acknowledge and comply with the volunteers' instructions by making eye contact with them and standing still. Second, the volunteers' use of "he" for the turtle ("he's right there" and "he'll just swim by ya") is selected instead of another possibility: "it." In my fieldwork, volunteers talk about sea turtles using gender pronouns when attributing agency to sea turtles. This seems to reflect the conservation volunteers' discourse of sea turtles as recognizable individuals with unique biographies, personalities and even personal names. To the untrained eye sea turtles tend to look the same. Volunteers' ability to recognize and name individuals often surprises tourists who find out that most of the sea turtles at Laniākea Beach are not ambiguous members of a species, but well-known individuals to these volunteers, with English and Hawaiian names, like Wooly Booly or Hiwahiwa.

4.5.3.2 Pointing and naming

Tourist encounters with sea turtles are replete with the embodied act of pointing, revealing a pervasive desire among visitors at the beach to discern, identify and share with others the natural world as it is viscerally encountered and experienced. In the context of wildlife tourism, pointing at animals is often accompanied by verbal acts of commenting on the appearance and behaviors of animals, 'augmenting' local understandings of and emotional connections with nature through wildlife and nature identification practices. For example, in describing tourists' performances of pointing at and identifying wildlife in the context of whale watching tours in Canada, Milstein (2011) writes, "[a]s the basic entry to socially discerning and categorizing parts of nature, acts of pointing and naming generate certain kinds of ecocultural knowledge that constitute aspects of nature as considered, unique, sorted, or marked" (p. 4).

From this perspective, the act of 'pointing and naming' foregrounds an individual animal or feature of the environment, while simultaneously constructing specific ecocultural understandings of and emotive connections with wildlife and nature. As a semiotic process, pointing thus provides a resource for distinguishing and categorizing nature to impose a human symbolic map on nature.

Pointing at sea turtles seemed to be a fundamental activity to 'doing being a tourist,' accomplished through a combination of bodily and discursive practices (e.g. exclaiming "there's a turtle!" while pointing it out to others). This highlights how pointing at sea turtles in part reveals a desire to share joint attention with other tourists, as well as an incipient form of touching to understand a natural world just out of reach.

Figure 4.17 Pointing from land

Figure 4.18 Pointing in water

In figure 4.17, a tourist points to a sea turtle in the near shore area of the beach. It is worth noting that this tourist is also wearing a t-shirt with imagery of three blue sea turtles imprinted on the back, itself indicating the highly mediatized representations of sea turtles as enormously charismatic (and commodified) animals in Hawai'i. Figure 4.18 reveals another moment of pointing, however, this time amongst tourists wading in the near shore area in the midst of swimming sea turtles. Here, a woman in the foreground points to, almost touching a turtle foraging on algae, directing the attention of a man holding a digital camera to a nearby sea turtle. Notice the woman in the background too, actually touching a turtle submerged in the water.

These moments of pointing, identifying and even touching sea turtles are visceral and emotional experiences for tourists that are often punctuated by staccato outbursts of verbal response that attempt to capture the excitement of the moment or make visual sense of sea turtles:

Examples of stance-gesture couplings to the exciting moment of encounter	
English stances	Japanese stances
– "Wow, it's right there!" – "That's so cool!" – "What's that on it's shell?" ((pointing to a 'PIT' tag tracking device – Passive Integrative Transponder – glued to a sea turtle's shell))	- すごい！*Sugoi*! ((Amazing/wow)) - ウミガメさん！*Umigame-san!* ((Mr. Sea Turtle!)). - 退いて、上がる、上がる！退いて、退いて、退いて！（笑）写真！*doite, agaru, agaru, doite, doite, doite, hahaha, shashin!* ((move aside, [it's] coming up, [it's] coming up, move over, move over move over! hahaha, picture!))

Figure 4.19 Stance-gesture couplings

Stances taken up in the situated performance of pointing, here as I observed by English- and Japanese-speaking tourists, highlight the affective displays ('Wow' or 'Sugoi!') and epistemic discernment ('what's that on it's shell?' or 'it's moving it's moving!') that often accompany pointing. These different stances reveal how spoken utterances often combine with embodied pointing to 'augment' and 'make intelligible' sea turtles to tourists in the moment of encounter, drawing tourists with diverse linguistic backgrounds into different understandings of and emotional connections with sea turtles. On the one hand, the practice of pointing and naming in wildlife tourism settings reveals a pervasive tendency, or desire, among tourists to point out and evaluate the performance of animals to oneself and to co-present friends and family. On the other hand, sharing these experiences with others involves making others aware of one's presence in place, spotlighting attention on Self as as much as attention to the Other. This highlights how what is often spectacularized in these moments is not simply nature, but one's proximity and relation to nature, the proliferation of spectacular 'selfies' being one instance of this, which I turn to next.

4.5.3.3 Digital photography: capturing the moment of nonhuman encounter

These "look at me, here I am!" moments of tourist practices, moments that Thurlow and Jaworski (2011) refer to as 'spectacular Self-locations,' become especially apparent when

considering how the technology of photography has restructured tourist practices. The 'selfie,' usually performed by a single individual turning a camera back on one's self, has become one pervasive form of reentextualizing self-representation, as I explore in more detail below. But examining tourists interactions at Laniākea Beach reveals the 'teamwork' that is also often involved in creating these self-images of spectacle (Urry and Larsen p. 213). As tourists embodied performances are often characterized by different 'withs' (Goffman) – couples, families, or groups of fellow tourists travelling together – an important aspect of experiencing tourist places involves experiencing them in the presence of, and help of intimate others. The technology of photography, in particular, has restructured social interactions and participation frameworks involving different withs, transforming how people interact with objects, animals, people and place (Jones 2011). The images below of two pairs of tourists maneuvering around sea turtles to capture an image not just of a sea turtle, but themselves with a sea turtle serve to illustrate how digital photography structures recurring embodied social practice in wildlife tourist settings:

Figure 4.20 Selfie duo 1

Figure 4.21 Selfie duo 2

In figure 4.20, a tourist performs a 'turtle hold,' a forced-perspective illusion of physically holding a turtle through manipulating the position of the subject's hand in relation to a sea turtle at some distance away (see figure 4.23 below). Here, these two girls work as a team to position themselves in order to perform this photographic illusion. The barriers placed around sea turtles by conservation volunteers require tourists to take photos of sea turtles from a distance of at least

10ft, and the girl posing for the shot in figure 4.20 stands just at the edge of the red-rope barrier. However, when tourists arrive in the early morning or late evening when volunteers have not arrived yet, or have packed up and gone home, tourists find a beach absent of regulatory signs and ropes. In these cases, much more proximal encounters with sea turtles are possible (or rather not socially sanctioned by conservation volunteers). In figure 4.21 for example, a young girl poses mere inches from a basking sea turtle, with no need for forced-perspective illusions of photography. These two images show how posing with sea turtles involves the embodied practices of 'teamwork' to carry off the performance. However, there is also recurring effort by tourists I observed to pose for photos in ways that erase the presence of other (non-intimate) people and, in particular, the semiotic landscape of sea turtle protection signs and barriers. This suggests a pervasive tourist desire to recreate the tourism imaginary of unmediated human-sea turtle contact found in mediatized tourism imagery.

4.5.3.4 Embodying technology and extending the senses through digital photography

Photography, in addition to restructuring embodied interaction in tourist places, also involves the affordances of technology to 'extend our senses' (Bucholtz and Hall 2016) into the world in ways the naked body cannot. As the ANT scholar John Law (1994) argues in his ethnographic discourse analysis of scientific practices, ''left to their own devices, human actions and words do not spread far at all'' (p. 24). Tourists' embodied movement through space is heavily mediated by technologies like cameras that they bring with them, where social and spatial practices are organized through efforts to 'get the shot.' Embodied sociolinguistic studies have examined how semiotic processes of embodiment transform agency and identity in human interaction with objects and technologies like archaeological tools (Goodwin, 2000), web-cams (Keating, 2005), mobile phones (Arminen & Weilenmann, 2009) and blackboards (Canagarajah 2018). In addition, modal aggregates like the 'touch/response-feel' that Norris (2012) analyzes in video-recordings of horseback rider training sessions also reveals how the felt movements of animals 'extend our senses' into the world in new ways. A key idea in these studies is how embodiment emerges through a continual process of perception/counter-perception with objects, technologies, and the built and natural environment, where the body's senses are adjusted and tuned into the material world over fleeting or more extended periods of time. This may emerge in

quick bursts like the brief moments of touch between a rider and a horse, or in continually tasting a dish one is cooking up to make sure it will be edible. In the cases below, this sense/counter-sense process might also occur in embodied interaction with a camera on a 'selfie stick' as tourists negotiate a rocky beach space to get the best shot of a basking sea turtle (see image 8 below).

Figure 4.22 Selfie stick

Figure 4.23 Turtle sandwhich

In figure 4.22 for example, a tourist is using a smartphone in one hand, and a selfie stick in the other, a stick that offers the affordance for extending a tourists' reach when sea turtles arrive in hard to see places, such as behind rocks. Selfie sticks also reveal an interesting relation between agency and accountability in extending the self in unpredictable ways. For example, I often observed tourists extend selfie-sticks across the red protective rope to within inches of a basking sea turtles' face, with mixed reactions from conservation volunteers regulating human-sea turtle interaction on the scene. This was surprising to me that some volunteers did not see this practice as violating the rope boundary, and revealed the range of dispositions to enforcing protection boundaries that volunteers expressed. Furthermore, this also suggests that as technology, like selfie-stick mounted cameras, distribute agency in new and unpredictable ways (Bucholtz and Hall 2016), accountabilities (e.g. who gets blamed or held accountable for an action?) for one's actions can become muddled in unpredictable ways too (Kockelman, 2007).

Further, in figure 4.22, a 'team' of two tourists (a woman in the foreground and a man in a blue shirt squatting in the background) position the sea turtle between themselves, as in image

2 to capture the image, but noticeably with the woman looking through the screen of her phone. As the viewfinder has given way to the on-screen display in digital photography, tourists maneuver through these sites seemingly viewing sea turtles primarily through a screen. As tourists embodied engagement with wildlife in these sites is shaped by anticipation of picturable 'trophy moments' (Salazar, 2010), embodied performances aim to capture those moments, often with an eye towards uploading them on social media. This illustrates how photography involves a 'double location of Self' (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014). In one sense, photographic practices, like other embodied gestures such as pointing, extend our capacity to (inter)act in the world. In a second sense, photography is a 'technology of entextualization' (Jones, 2015) as it provides a means to extract 'texts' or strips of action from the here and now, and recontextualize representations of Self to a broader audience in the form of a video or photographic product (Cardell & Douglas, 2018; Dinhopl & Gretzelm, 2016).

4.5.4 Circuit 4: Instagram posts and the double spectacularization of self and other

People's photographic practices at Laniākea Beach show how widespread the use of digital camera technology has become, and its tremendous impact on tourists' physical movements through place and interactions with animals in wildlife tourism settings. Furthermore, while some tourists come to the North Shore to specifically see and take photos of sea turtles, other tourists visit the beach on photo tours, also referred to as 'selfie tours' that stop at a series of locations. This suggests a useful distinction between sea turtle tourists and more general 'selfie tourists' where sea turtles are mere background decorations to their selfie creations. In addition, the strategic distribution of digital photography and video on social media platforms like Instagram and Facebook enable personal images to spread to new audiences, and with new possibilities for reception of one's ecocultural actions and identities by a global audience. In particular, Instagram, has become one of the most popular modes of digital photography circulation, with round 500 million people using the social media platform globally, with about 32% of all internet users owning an Instagram account. These statistics provide some indication of how pervasive the practice of digital social photography has become, embedded in all aspects of people's everyday lives. Notably, the visual crafting of Instagram images, resembling in some ways the non-digital 'wish you were here' postcards from another era, invite

the audience to participate in the subjective experience of the author, and to even imagine being the author, seeing and feeling what they do. Here, I focus on how a sea turtle discourse of spectacle is strategically mobilized in Instagram posts of people's interactions with sea turtles at Laniākea Beach. In particular, as Instagram posts are curated on people's online profiles, these postings become key interdiscursive terrains where a tourism discourse of spectacular wildlife converges with a discourse of (spectacular) self.

A pervasive photographic practice involves having a picture of oneself taken together with a sea turtle, either accomplished through a selfie or through a "with," (Goffman 1971) where another person takes the photo for you. Consider this selection of images below retrieved from Instagram over the course of one year by searching the hashtags #LaniākeaBeach (10, 298 posts) and #TurtleBeach (225, 250 posts) and #ラニアケアビーチ (Laniākea Beach in Japanese: 2, 384 posts) (all #hashtags re-accessed March 2019).

Figure 4.24 "beach buddy" Instagram post

Figure 4.25 Touching sea turtle Instagram post

Figure 4.26 'Cupping sea turtle' Instagram post

Here, a variety of metatdiscursive resources, both visual and textual, are intermodally woven together to craft these images, with an eye towards positive appraisal by a global audience, evaluated by the number of 'likes' the image receives. For example, in figure 4.24, a woman can be seen lying on her stomach next to a basking sea turtle, not just mimicking the prostrated position of the sea turtle, but seemingly co-participating in a shared human-animal activity of basking in the sun. This frame of co-participation is made more explicit with the caption 'beach buddy' punctuated at the end with a turtle emoji '🐢.' Following this are numerous hashtags (#) where users can tag a photo with various searchable keywords. Geolocations, displayed at the top of the photo ("North Shore, Oahu, Hawai'i ") offer authors the ability to further tag their photo to be publicly searchable by geographic location. Together, these all become powerful tools for visitors at Laniākea Beach to strategically circulate their sea turtle encounters to a global audience.

Furthermore, these photographic remediations also provide a medium for tourists to interweave into the final product the emotional and epistemic transformations they underwent before, during and after a moment of interaction with sea turtles. In figure 4.25, for example, a woman is reaching out, touching a sea turtle on the head, with an added comment in Japanese: 触っちゃダメだったみたい。知らなくて触っちゃいました。ごめんなさい。"It seems it was prohibited to touch sea turtles, I didn't know and touched them anyway…((turtle emoji)) Sorry ((turtle emoji))". This caption indexes an epistemic shift in the individual's awareness of an ethical discourse of sea turtle protection circulating through this beach site. From a dialogic perspective, this image responds to and incorporates the 'voice' of sea turtle protection practices at Laniākea Beach, and perhaps even the sea turtle's voice too, with the author strategically positioning herself as apologetic, but to whom exactly left unclear (the sea turtle, conservation volunteers, nature?). However, the author's circulation of this image of acknowledged transgressive eco-behavior to a global audience suggest a more complex and somewhat contradictory entanglement of a sea turtle discourse of spectacle with a sea turtle discourse of protection. That is to say, through weaving these discursive voices together, the author draws on the communicative affordances Instagram provides to strategically craft and share a particular eco-conscious subjectivity with a global audience.

Finally, figure 4.26 provides an example of the forced-perspective shots described in section 4.5.3.3 above. Here, a woman cups her hands to make them appear to be around a sea turtle at some distance away. The location is tagged as "turtle beach" – an anglicized version of the beach's Hawaiian name, Laniākea, and is accompanied by the caption, "must give them/respect their space" followed by a turtle emoji and smiley face emoji, a spatio-affective stance-taking that locates a particular emotion in the physical proximity to sea turtles: "I'm near a turtle, I'm happy." Again, this statement somewhat paradoxically indexes both an ethical stance to maintain a respectful distance from sea turtles, while at the same time enclosing a sea turtle within a tourists' forced-perspective grasp.

On the one hand, this image is indicative of the 'in-between-places' that wildlife tourism occupies in staging and commodifying human-animal connections. As tourists seek to experience

close embodied proximity to wildlife, the types of eco-connections forged in these encounters inevitably sit in tension with a Western nature-culture dialectic of mastery over nature on the one hand, and harmony with nature on the other (Wapner, 2013). In other words, in the urge to authentically connect with the nonhuman otherness of wildlife in tourism settings, these connections also encounter the ideological pull towards othering animals as exotic spectacles for human entertainment. As Lorimer (2015) argues, "Spectacle encourages consumer-citizens to turn their backs on proximal ecologies and uncommodified wildlife encounters and get lost in commodified simulacra of nature" (p. 143). Yet at the same time, tourists do not simply reproduce or resist one or the other end of this dialectic, a dialogic perspective draws our attention to the discursive creativity unleashed when a discourse of spectacle is actually made to circulate through specific channels of discursive movement like Instagram.

4.6 Conclusion

Examining how tourists circulate a sea turtle tourism discourse of spectacle, grounded as it is in the wildlife tourism industry's relentless commodification of human-animal encounters, raises critical questions about whether all tourist actions with wildlife ultimately reproduce dominant Western colonial and capitalist discourses of control and exploitation of nature. Of course, if asking about 'how many' or indeed 'all' tourists are actually indoctrinated by such a discourse, this is an impossible question to empirically answer. But Thurlow and Jaworski's (2014) argument below, and discussions of the ideological dimensions of the tourist gaze more generally, seems to shore up this totalizing claim:

> "Seemingly innocuous acts like pointing at, posing in front of, or ambling through a tourist site enact the neocolonial agenda which underpins even the most 'eco-friendly', 'cultural', 'sustainable' or 'alternative' kinds of tourism...Ultimately, the practices of tourism, whether verbal or nonverbal, realise an ideology of conquest through the control and possession of space" (p. 484).

This perspective takes tourists' embodied movement and gestures to be drenched in colonial and capitalist ideological flows, surfacing in each performance as "as momentary enactments of

genres (i.e. ways of inter/acting) and styles (i.e., ways of being), but also as discourses (i.e., ways of representing)" (p.483). In the context of wildlife tourism, this suggests that momentary acts of pointing at, swimming with, touching, or taking pictures of sea turtles are inextricably interwoven with a discourse of spectacular nature that positions humans as audience to the exotic 'otherness' of nature's performance, ultimately forging human-animal connections grounded in a colonial-cum-capitalist environmental discourse of human mastery over the natural world.

However, the dialogic approach to tourism discourse explored in this chapter, with its foregrounding of the material basis of discursive movement, helps bring focus to the new environmental discourses that take shape in the contingent and syncretic spaces of local practice. This is not to diminish or ignore the negative social and ecological impacts of wildlife tourism's relentless efforts to predictably stage and profit on embodied human encounters with wild animals like sea turtles. But it draws attention to the human, material and nonhuman voices that interpellate tourists as they mobilize tourism discourses in the necessary contingencies of situated interaction. In these syncretic spaces, tourists 'answer' and are 'made answerable to' (Bakhtin 1981; Jones 2016) the shifting semiotic and material assemblages of their social, material and ecological surroundings. In this chapter, these interpellating voices included a sea turtle discourse of spectacle, but also sea turtle conservation and educational discourses through signs and the spoken instructions and admonitions of volunteers, material entities like ropes, rocks and water, an ambient Instagram audience, and the agentive behavior of sea turtles themselves. Looking empirically at the dialogic productivity wrought by different circuits of discursive movement, I suggest, can offer important insights into the locally contingent and *unfinalizable* dimensions of human-animal connections being forged in wildlife tourism settings around the world. For applied linguists, this also suggests possibilities not just to identify and contest exploitative tourism discourses of animals and nature, but to introduce and cultivate positive ecocultural voices through our engagement with wildlife and nature-based tourism networks.

CHAPTER 5
BECOMING A HONU GUARDIAN

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I followed the discursive-material assemblages that led to Laniakea Beach and the turtles becoming a destination for the consumption of spectacular nature. In this chapter, I analyze the response of Mālama na Honu to the visitors and I see how they are also part of the nexus of practice. First, I examine how honu guardians are trained to protect sea turtles and educate tourists about sea turtles through their socialization into a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation. The analysis focuses on how new volunteers encounter the texts, narratives, objects, signs, and the wider semiotic-material landscape that constitutes the "discourses in place" (Scollon and Scollon 2003) of the nexus of sea turtle interpretation see Figure 3.1). After tracing how volunteers become familiar with theses discourses in place in learning to carry out their volunteer duties at Laniākea Beach, I then examine how they mobilize these discourses in their educational and regulatory interactions with tourists at the beach. All new honu guardian volunteers are required to attend an orientation briefing, usually lasting for about one hour, as well as being required to shadow more experienced volunteers for two three-hour shifts before becoming full-fledged members of Mālama na Honu. In carrying out these training activities, volunteers learn to use a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation, a genre which, I argue, is rooted in a longer history of American educational and regulatory discourse about wildlife in contexts of nature-based tourism. Learning to use this genre in part involves sharing one's knowledge about sea turtles, with the hope that this transforms the public's understandings and attitudes about sea turtles to engender greater support for conservation and protection efforts surrounding the species. In addition, learning to use this genre also involves preventing tourists from 'harassing' sea turtles through close or direct physical contact, a term that is a source of some ambiguity in both Mālama na Honu and the wider sea turtle conservation community.

I refer to the triad of activities honu guardians carry out – doing sea turtle educational outreach, doing sea turtle regulation, and collecting data about basking sea turtles – which I group under the overall discourse genre of 'sea turtle interpretation' (see figure 1 below). Sea

turtle interpretation at Laniākea Beach is an institutionalized discourse genre designed to strategically "frame" (Lakoff 2010; Stibbe 2015) visitors' perceptions and behaviors around sea turtles in order for volunteers to accomplish certain communicative goals. In part, these goals stem from efforts to spread a message of "respectful viewing guidelines" for sea turtles in ways that align with the protection goals of state and federal agencies tasked with enforcing sea turtle protection under the Endangered Species Act. The discursive practices honu guardians engage in at this beach are an extension of these institutional efforts to strategically spread the 'message' of sea turtle protection. These efforts are further reflected in the mission statement of Mālama na Honu "To protect the Hawaiian sea turtles through education, public awareness and conservation in the Spirit of Aloha." In their efforts to carry out this mission, honu guardians use the discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation as a tool to educate visitors to the beach about sea turtles, as well as regulate people's conduct around sea turtles (e.g., through talk, material objects like ropes, and regulatory signage) in working to locally spread the larger institutional goals of state and federal agencies tasked with protecting green sea turtles in Hawai'i under the Endangered Species Act.

5.2 Sociolinguistic approaches to discourse communities

The approach to the discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation I take in this chapter builds on research in sociolinguistics (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990) that investigates 'discourse communities,' or how groups of people become united around shared goals through the 'technologization' of specific discursive resources (Jones, 2002; Scollon, 2001). While discourse genres might be thought of in terms of their linguistic features organized into some overall discursive structure, for example in the written form of a job application, or the spoken form of an English academic lecture, Bhatia (1993) argues that the most important thing about discourse genres is that they are "forms of action" composed of more or less organized series of 'moves.' In this sense, discourse genres operate as a way for groups of people to carry out specific shared social goals (like protecting sea turtles). But the ability to display skillful use of a particular genre also functions as an emblem (index) of membership in a *community of practice* (Lave & Wegner, 1991). Swales (1990) argues that the emergence of a discourse community involves six characteristics: 1) it "has a broadly agreed set of common public goals"; 2) it "has mechanisms

of intercommunication among its members"; 3) it "uses its participatory mechanisms primarily to provide information and feedback"; 4) it uses "one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of its aims"; 5) it has a "specific lexis'; and 6) it "depends on a reasonable ratio between novice and expert members" (pp. 24-27). I will argue that the practices of Mālama na Honu, in mobilizing a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation to carry out its goals at the beach, is characterized by these six dimensions.

In addition, from the perspective of mediated discourse analysis (Scollon 2001; Jones & Norris, 2005) that I take in this dissertation, discourse genres are understood as cultural tools designed to help people carry out shared goals, and take up certain identities. Genres become 'technologized' in discourse communities (see below) as they are interdiscursively connected to shared bodies of knowledge, social conventions of evaluation, and techniques of application. The notion of 'technologization' refers to how, as particular discursive resources are repeatedly used over time by a group of people as they work to carry out shared goals, these resources acquire a degree of metadiscursive baggage, in the form of written and spoken 'talk about talk.' As Silverstein (1995) argues, metadiscourse makes possible the 'contextually situated, interactional establishment, maintenance and renewal of social relations in society (p 35). Metadiscourse is an important aspect of understanding how volunteers come to imagine their membership in Mālama na Honu, because metacommunication, or talk about ways of doing sea turtle 'outreach' and 'protection,' makes a practice recognizable, opening it up to scrutiny by members, and rendering it susceptible to subsequent adaptation and change when applied to new situations.

5.3 The discourse community of *Mālama na Honu*

In analysis of the data in this chapter, I take up a practice-based approach to sea turtle interpretation to examine the discursive and interactional practices of Mālama na Honu as a discourse community. By describing Mālama na Honu as a discourse community I mean membership in the organization is imagined around the being able to use a particular discourse of sea turtle interpretation in effective and appropriate ways with visitors at the beach. Figure 1

below provides an overview of the levels of actions (Scollon, 2001; Norris, 2004) involved in volunteers' efforts to carry out this discourse genre in practice.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="8">Doing sea turtle interpretation</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Protecting sea turtles</td><td colspan="3">Doing 'outreach'</td><td colspan="2">Collecting honu data</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Placing ropes</td><td>Setting up signs</td><td colspan="2">Regulating interaction</td><td>Answering visitors' questions</td><td>Identifying basking sea turtles</td><td>Recording basking data</td></tr>
<tr><td>Fetching rope basket</td><td>Waiting for sea turtle to find spot on sand</td><td>Placing multilingual regulation signs and ID signs around sea turtle</td><td>communicating viewing guidelines to visitors</td><td>Drawing on sea turtle knowledge and personal experience</td><td colspan="2">Using identification book to match facial scale patterns of sea turtle with photos of 'known' Laniākea turtles</td><td>Recording time of day when turtles arrive to bask and return to the ocean</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5.1: Overlapping higher and lower-level actions sea turtle interpretation

Becoming a member of Mālama na Honu means learning to carry out these various practices in order to educate tourists, protect sea turtles and carry out other responsibilities like collecting sea turtle basking data that is compiled and sent to NOAA for sea turtle research purposes. By this token, it might be argued that Mālama na Honu is better understood as a 'community of practice,' (Lave & Wenger, 1991) where membership is not simply based on expertise in using a particular genre of sea turtle discourse, but on the practice of protecting sea turtles. This is indeed how some volunteers imagine their membership in Mālama na Honu. For example, some volunteers have little interest in engaging in the communicative activity of 'outreach' with visitors at the beach unless they needed to scold people that transgressed the rope boundaries around sea turtles, or when people got too close to sea turtles when snorkeling in the nearshore areas. But by and large most volunteers I talked with, as well as the official stance of Mālama na Honu as stated in their mission statement, conceived the primary goal of their volunteer efforts to be pro-actively talking with people at the beach about sea turtles by mobilizing the discourse genre of sea turtle outreach. For this reason, my interest in investigating the practices of Mālama na Honu as a discourse community is not just theoretical, but rather is grounded in the preoccupations of the organization itself, whose members' main concern is to strategically learn, enact and spread a discourse of sea turtle interpretation so as to persuasively bring visitors on board with their agenda of caring for (Mālama) the sea turtles (na honu).

In this sense, from the perspective of mediated discourse analysis I take in this dissertation, the point is not to categorize a group of people *only* as a discourse community, as opposed to a speech community where membership is imagined around a shared speech variety (like speaking Pitsburghese), or a community of practice where membership is imagined around doing the same thing together (like surfing at the same beach break). Rather, "what is important about these different models of community is the degree to which they enable social actors to do what they want to do in particular circumstances" (Jones, 2016, 176). In other words, sometimes honu guardians may identify themselves as belonging to a particular speech community (Mainstream US English speakers), and at other times to a particular community of practice (protecting sea turtles). But volunteering at Laniākea Beach is something most honu guardians will only do for a few hours every month, so their membership in Mālama na Honu is only one of many communities they may imagine themselves as members of, such as military, parents, scientists, English-speakers, monk seal volunteers, Americans, or even tourists themselves, to name a few. But by focusing on honu guardians as members of a discourse community, in that their membership is imagined around using the discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation or outreach, the analytic reason is that this reflects a core preoccupation of many members in Mālama na Honu: to socialize new members into doing the discourse genre of sea turtle outreach to educate visitors in skillful and appropriate ways.

5.4 Analysis and participants

In the analysis of data below, I build on the methodological framework of nexus analysis developed in this dissertation, which sees social actions as taking place at the nexus of three interwoven discursive trajectories: discourses in place, the interaction order and the historical body. The usefulness of this approach is that it brings focus to the relation between everyday social actions and the broader discourses that mediate these actions. In particular, through the analysis of mediated action, I investigate the sociogenesis, or the social production and maintenance, of Mālama na Honu as a discourse community, through members' efforts to circulate a discourse of sea turtle intepretation. This approach examines how the actions involved in doing sea turtle interpretation that volunteers carry out are ultimately about how these three

dimensions of a nexus analysis intersect with one another to make certain social actions, identities and social relationships at Laniākea Beach possible.

Most volunteers I met were retirees, often couples volunteering together, that had lived in Hawai'i for varying amounts of time during their retirement. Members of military families who were temporarily stationed in Hawai'i for two to three years also constituted a large portion of Mālama na Honu volunteers I interviewed during my research. Other 'types' of volunteers I met much less frequently, included one female student from Honk Kong who was volunteering for credit toward her optional practical training (OPT), a middle-aged couple who had recently moved to Hawai'i for a career change and had decided to volunteer after chatting by chance with volunteers at Laniākea Beach, and an environmental scientist who enjoyed volunteering for wildlife conservation organizations in her spare time. In the first section, I examine how the orientation leader (OL) trains volunteers at an orientation session. The OL is a middle-aged female who has been a dedicated member of Mālama na Honu for more than eight years. She does extensive sea turtle 'outreach' beyond the beach in local public schools as well, and leads field trips for volunteers to NOAA headquarters. In many ways she is the beating heart of the non-profit organization, continuously recruiting new volunteers and working to spread Mālama na Honu's message to 'care for sea turtles' at Laniākea Beach and beyond.

5.4.1 Discourses in place

By discourses in place, I am referring to how material and semiotic resources are strategically 'emplaced' in the environment to enable people to take certain actions, actions that in turn enable people to take up certain identities and social relationships for specific communicative purposes, like protecting sea turtles. For Scollon and Scollon (2003), the notion of discourses in place draws analytic attention to indexicality, the semiotic relationship that connects discursive and material beings and entities to their surrounding environment (bodies, objects, discourse, technologies, architecture, spatial layouts and more). Examining the discourses in place of sea turtle interpretation at Laniākea Beach sheds light on the institutional 'strategies' of control and surveillance that aim to produce Laniākea Beach as a place where people and sea turtles are watched over (Foucault, 1995). But also, it brings focus to the agentive

'tactics' that volunteers' draw on to negotiate and adapt these discourses in place to the contingencies of face-to-face interaction as the walk through different moments at this beach (De Certeau, 1983).

With this in mind, my focus in this section is on the strategic efforts of Mālama na Honu to socialize new volunteers into the discourse genre of sea turtle 'outreach.' Becoming a honu guardian involves becoming familiar with the discourse genre of sea turtle 'outreach' through an initial 'orientation' meeting. The orientation meeting is a key site where the discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation is introduced and cultivated in new members. Here, the orientation leader brings together a range of discourses in place including written instructional materials, embodied demonstrations of practices volunteers will need to accomplish, and spoken narrative performances that aim to strategically 'orient' or frame volunteers' embodied experience of Laniākea Beach. More specifically, I examine how the lead volunteer conducting the orientation meeting 'entextualizes' (Bauman & Briggs, 1990) specific discursive and material resources, positioning herself in relation these webs of resources through different affective and epistemic stance-takings.

At the initial orientation, the orientation leader ('OL' in the excerpt below) discusses the origins of Mālama na Honu's activities at the beach as emerging from initial efforts by NOAA to make scientific sense of the sea turtle basking, as Laniākea was the first beach on Oʻahu where sea turtles began exhibiting the behavior of basking. This involved a series of 'tellings' of events of sea turtle basking history at Laniākea Beach.

5.4.1.1 Origins of sea turtle basking at Laniākea Beach

Excerpt 5.1 Everything changed in 1999 (00:31 – 00:59)

7 OL: everything changed in 1999 (1.0) a turtle came up, weird thing, the care taker of this house
8 was actually on the beach, and saw this turtle and she thought **oh it must have washed up**
9 **and passed away** (.5) so she kinda watched it and all of a sudden it started to move, so after
10 a couple of days of continuously watching this turtle at which she realized you know **the**
11 **turtle's not hurt it's actually just hanging out and basking**

These three excerpts highlight the 'origin story' narratives the orientation leader tells about the history of sea turtle basking and Mālama na Honu as a volunteer-based organization. In excerpt 4.1, OL describes the moment when the founder of the organization, first encountered a sea turtle basking at Laniākea Beach. The story is framed as an initial puzzle ("weird thing") that leads the founder to reach out to NOAA's sea turtle research division at the time. In lines 8-9, OL entextualizes in the here and now of the orientation a constructed dialogue (Bakhtin 1983; Tannen 1986) from the past, or rather the internal monologue of the founder's thoughts at finding a sea turtle 'washed up' on the beach (highlighted in bold). OL's entextualization of reported thoughts of the founder in these origin-story narratives enables her at once to mobilize a cast of characters with specific stances towards this emerging phenomena of sea turtle basking, while taking meta-stances on these stances – or 'double-voicedness' – of her own towards the founder's discovery (Bakhtin, 1983).

Excerpt 5.2: Origins of Mālama na Honu (2:21 – 2:54)

28 OL: and so they decide to actually make it a non-profit organization so between 2004 and 2007
29 they became a non-profit, and with that status though it's good for us because what
30 happens is NOAA has decided that instead of having to bring their team of people down and
31 pay them to do the work, we're kind of doing it for free and um, it's uh I mean come on it's a
32 good gig you're on the beach you're meeting people it doesn't get much better than that you
33 know so I think we're all very happy to get to volunteer.

In excerpt 5.2, for example, OL describes how, as more and more turtles began basking at the beach, it became unfeasible for NOAA to maintain a presence on the beach year-round, and so a community-based activist group could step in, leading to the eventual formation of *Mālama na Honu* in 2007 (following the non-profit's previous incarnation as "Show Turtles Aloha" from 2004-2007). Here, the OL takes multiple positive stances towards volunteering (it's good for us; it's a good gig; doesn't get much better than that; we're all very happy to get to volunteer), construing volunteers' outreach activities at the beach, not just as a way to continue activities that NOAA could no longer carry out on its own, but as working to cultivate expectations of

volunteering as an assemblage of pleasurable interactional experiences, more recreational than work-like.

Finally, the voices populating these origin narratives are not only human, but animal too. This highlights a pervasive feature of volunteer discourse I observed, and participated in frequently myself over the course of volunteering – attributing agency to sea turtles:

Excerpt 5.3: They kinda know that we're here to help them (3:33 – 4:09)

42 OL: what happened was they dec- one- it took one turtle (.5) to discover, **wait (.5) this is a Las**
43 **Vegas buffet**, because in the summer time we have about 20 different types of seaweed, and
44 that is all day ( ) and the Hawaiian green sea turtle only eats the limu, so for them (.5) they
45 realize **woah, there's lot's of different types of seaweed here**, and the one they like the best
46 is a red seaweed, and there's lot's of it during the summer time, so they decided, **okay (.5)**
47 **this is where we wanna come**, and they have the beach now, these volunteers really believe
48 that they kinda know that we're here to help them…

Here, the OL *animates* (Goffman, 1974) the voice of the sea turtle coming upon Laniākea Beach and 'realizing' the plentiful seaweed to be found there: "it took one turtle (.5) to discover, wait (.5) this is a Las Vegas buffet." Here, through constructed dialogue, OL attributes epistemic shifts in sea turtles' knowledge of the beach ('whoa, there's lot's of different types of seaweed here), as well as multiple affective stances ("okay, this is where we wanna come"), construing sea turtles as knowing, desiring beings. Furthermore, the evaluative stances of animal agency OL deploys involve a rich typology of *nonhuman charisma which* "can best be defined as the distinguishing properties of a non-human entity or process that determine its perception by humans and its subsequent evaluation" (Lorimer, 2007, p. 915). An important point to make here is that OL's sea turtle meta-stances (e.g. taking a stance about a sea turtle's imagined stance-taking through constructed dialogue) provide her with a strategic resource for cultivating volunteers' sense of moral responsibility not just to protect the well-being of individual sea turtles, but to orient volunteers to the wider ecological network sea turtles depend on such as access to seaweed (see figures 5.2 and 5.3 below)

Figure 5.2 Limu, or green algae covered rocks at Laniākea Beach.

Figure 5.3 limu palahalaha or sea lettuce (Ulva fasciata), a main food source of green sea turtles.

Figure 5.4 A tourist stands on the limu-covered rocks next to a basking sea turtle. *Note the barrier with yellow tape behind tourists emplaced by the lifeguards to keep people off this slippery shelf. Mālama na Honu considers this shelf its 'secondary' interpretive site, and therefore human-sea turtle interaction is less regulated here. However, many volunteers felt it was their duty to protect not only sea turtles at this secondary site, but also to protect the seaweed from being walked on, 'damaging' the sea turtles' food source.*

5.4.1.2 Learning to do sea turtle interpretation

In addition to constructing a historical narrative about sea turtle basking and Mālama na Honu for volunteers, another central objective of the orientation meeting is to teach volunteers how to do the various outreach, regulation and data collection duties required of them while volunteering. For example, in order to answer tourists' questions about sea turtle behavior and ecology, volunteers must develop a knowledge-base of sea turtle biology. This involves developing a discursive repertoire of 'sea turtle facts' such as why green sea turtles bask in the first place, how long they can stay underwater without taking a breath, and what kinds of foods

they eat. Developing this knowledge is encouraged in the orientation through reading educational materials provided at the beach such as the book in figure 5.5 below:

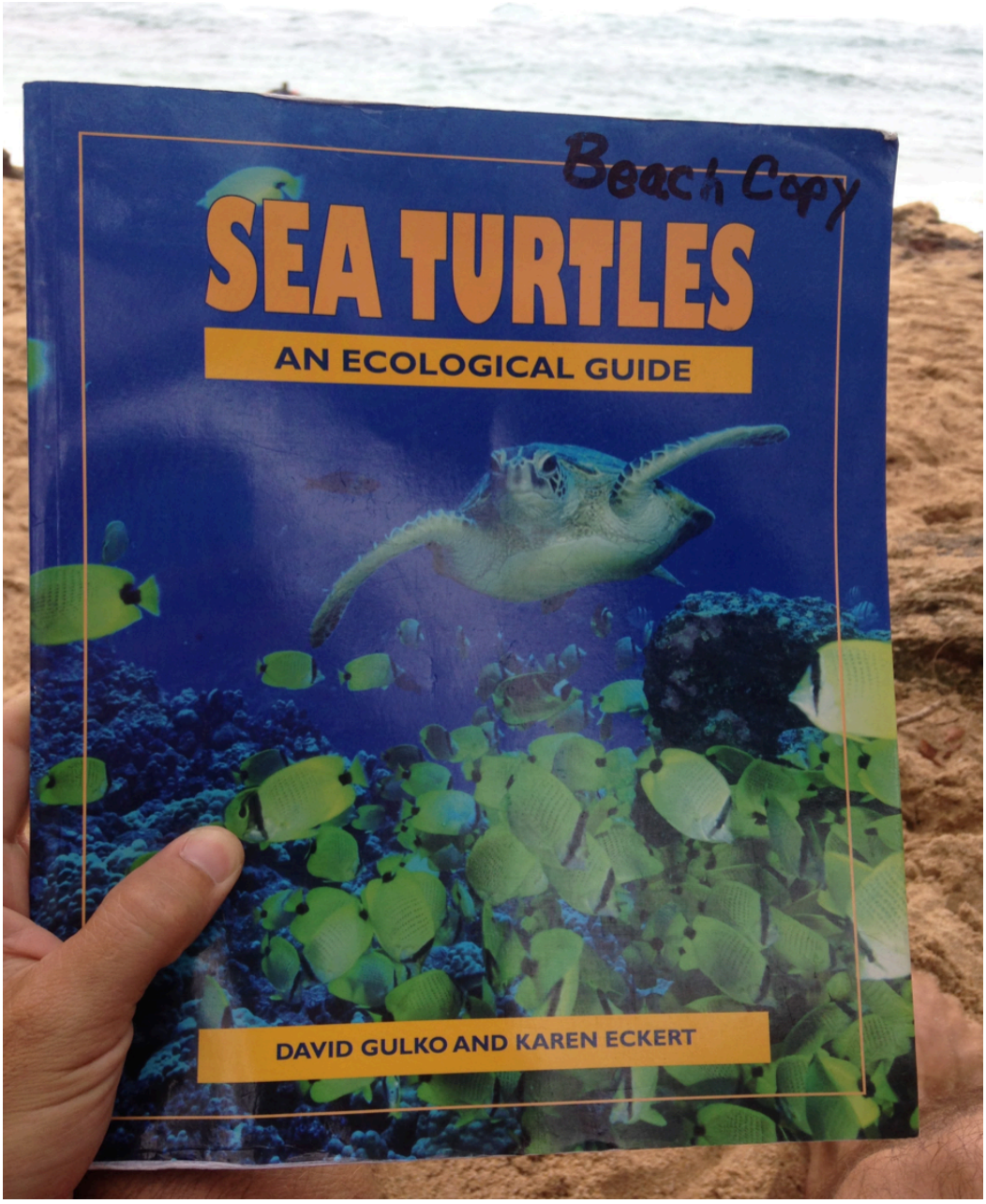
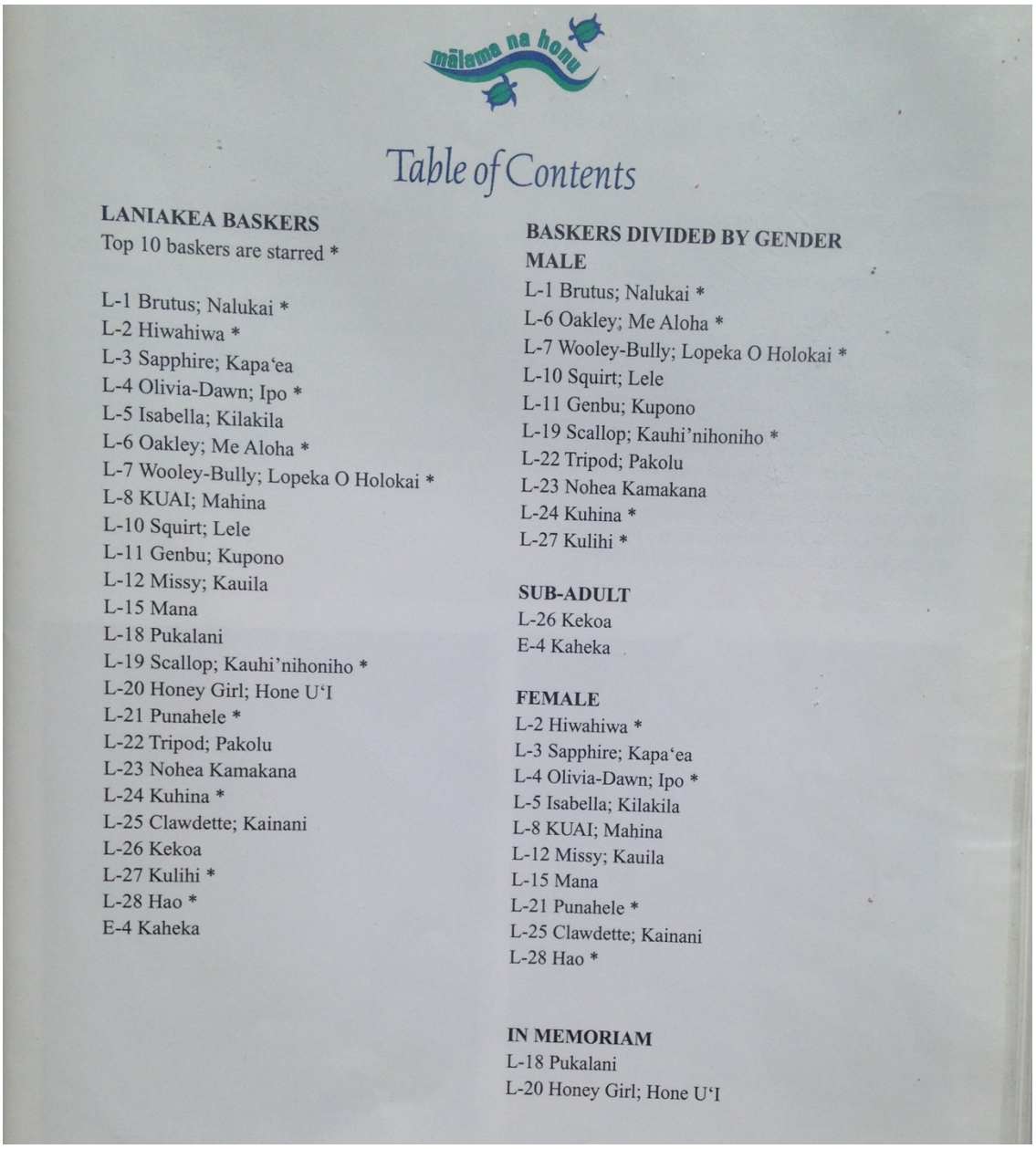


Figure 5.5 Beach copy of sea turtle ecology book. *Volunteers are also offered free copies upon request.*

In addition to this book, there is a binder of instructional materials that remains at the beach, stored in a locker at night along with the other beach equipment such as banners, a sea turtle identification book, regulation signs and ropes, multilingual educational brochures, and more:

Figure 5.6 The Mālama na Honu banner. *Put up and taken down daily by volunteers at Laniākea Beach.*

Figure 5.7 Honu identification book *which volunteers use to ID basking sea turtles. Volunteers learn to 'read' sea turtles aesthetic appearance, becoming increasingly skillful at identifying individual sea turtles at the beach over time.*



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LANIAKEA BASKERS
Top 10 baskers are starred *

L-1 Brutus; Nalukai *
L-2 Hiwahiwa *
L-3 Sapphire; Kapa'ea
L-4 Olivia-Dawn; Ipo *
L-5 Isabella; Kilakila
L-6 Oakley; Me Aloha *
L-7 Wooley-Bully; Lopeka O Holokai *
L-8 KUAI; Mahina
L-10 Squirt; Lele
L-11 Genbu; Kupono
L-12 Missy; Kauila
L-15 Mana
L-18 Pukalani
L-19 Scallop; Kauhi'nihoniho *
L-20 Honey Girl; Hone U'I
L-21 Punahele *
L-22 Tripod; Pakolu
L-23 Nohea Kamakana
L-24 Kuhina *
L-25 Clawdette; Kainani
L-26 Kekoa
L-27 Kulihi *
L-28 Hao *
E-4 Kaheka

BASKERS DIVIDED BY GENDER
MALE
L-1 Brutus; Nalukai *
L-6 Oakley; Me Aloha *
L-7 Wooley-Bully; Lopeka O Holokai *
L-10 Squirt; Lele
L-11 Genbu; Kupono
L-19 Scallop; Kauhi'nihoniho *
L-22 Tripod; Pakolu
L-23 Nohea Kamakana
L-24 Kuhina *
L-27 Kulihi *

SUB-ADULT
L-26 Kekoa
E-4 Kaheka

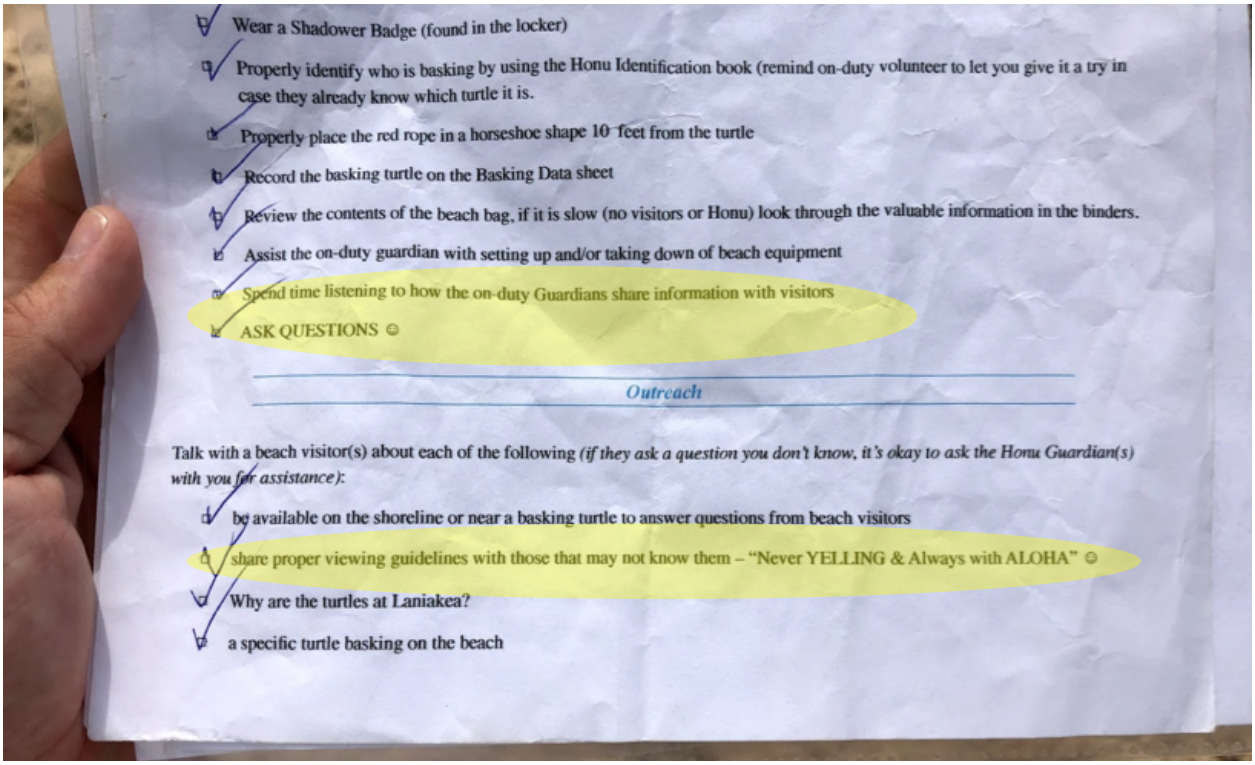
FEMALE
L-2 Hiwahiwa *
L-3 Sapphire; Kapa'ea
L-4 Olivia-Dawn; Ipo *
L-5 Isabella; Kilakila
L-8 KUAI; Mahina
L-12 Missy; Kauila
L-15 Mana
L-21 Punahele *
L-25 Clawdette; Kainani
L-28 Hao *

IN MEMORIAM
L-18 Pukalani
L-20 Honey Girl; Hone U'I

Figure 5.8 List of 'Laniākea Baskers'

Figure 5.9 Educational outreach brochures *placed in a mobile saw horse at the entrances to Laniākea Beach, with brochures available in Chinese, English, Japanese, Korean and Spanish.*

While learning to correctly interpret sea turtle behavior is an important aspect of becoming a 'good' volunteer, one of the most important objectives of training new volunteers is not just to teach them what to say and do, but *how* to say and do it. This is particularly important when volunteers encounter uncooperative tourists who attempt to touch, ride or even pick up sea turtles. One of the problematic issues for Mālama na Honu is to standardize the way volunteers engage with uncooperative tourists, in particular when it comes to enregistering volunteers' practice of enforcing a 'respectful distance' between humans and sea turtles. Figure 5.10 below is one sheet from the orientation packet that OL provides to all volunteers at the orientation meeting. New volunteers are given this checklist of key items that need to be accomplished during the two shadow sessions, which is then verified and signed off by the more experienced volunteer being shadowed at the time.



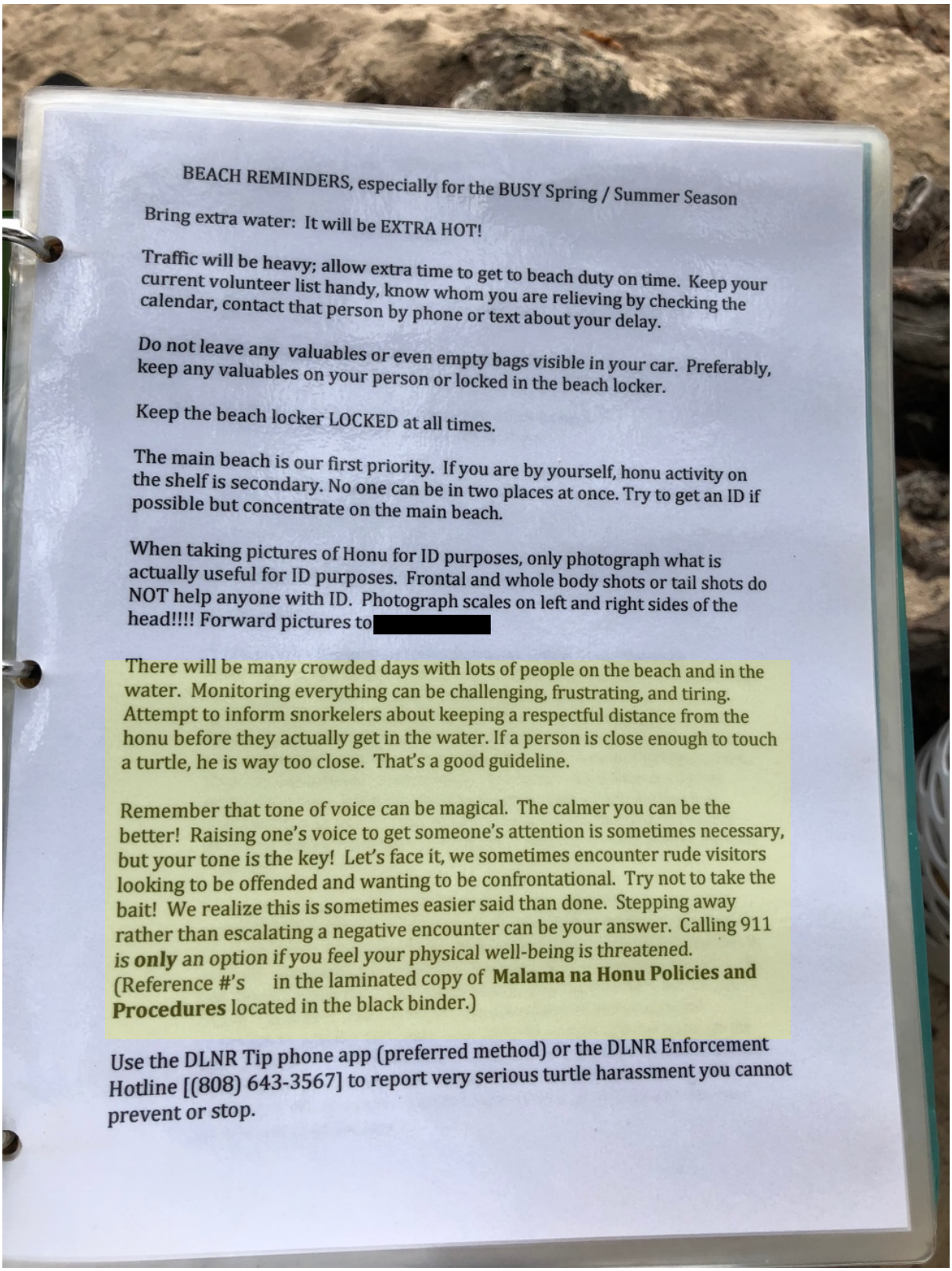
- [x] Wear a Shadower Badge (found in the locker)
- [x] Properly identify who is basking by using the Honu Identification book (remind on-duty volunteer to let you give it a try in case they already know which turtle it is.
- [x] Properly place the red rope in a horseshoe shape 10 feet from the turtle
- [x] Record the basking turtle on the Basking Data sheet
- [x] Review the contents of the beach bag, if it is slow (no visitors or Honu) look through the valuable information in the binders.
- [x] Assist the on-duty guardian with setting up and/or taking down of beach equipment
- [x] Spend time listening to how the on-duty Guardians share information with visitors
- [x] ASK QUESTIONS ☺

Outreach

Talk with a beach visitor(s) about each of the following *(if they ask a question you don't know, it's okay to ask the Honu Guardian(s) with you for assistance)*:

- [x] be available on the shoreline or near a basking turtle to answer questions from beach visitors
- [x] share proper viewing guidelines with those that may not know them – "Never YELLING & Always with ALOHA" ☺
- [x] Why are the turtles at Laniakea?
- [x] a specific turtle basking on the beach

Figure 5.10 New volunteer 'checklist' required *to be completed during two 'shadow' shifts. Highlighted in yellow are metadiscursive statements about how to appropriately talk and act in carrying out sea turtle 'outreach' (never YELLING & Always with ALOHA" ☺)*



BEACH REMINDERS, especially for the BUSY Spring / Summer Season

Bring extra water: It will be EXTRA HOT!

Traffic will be heavy; allow extra time to get to beach duty on time. Keep your current volunteer list handy, know whom you are relieving by checking the calendar, contact that person by phone or text about your delay.

Do not leave any valuables or even empty bags visible in your car. Preferably, keep any valuables on your person or locked in the beach locker.

Keep the beach locker LOCKED at all times.

The main beach is our first priority. If you are by yourself, honu activity on the shelf is secondary. No one can be in two places at once. Try to get an ID if possible but concentrate on the main beach.

When taking pictures of Honu for ID purposes, only photograph what is actually useful for ID purposes. Frontal and whole body shots or tail shots do NOT help anyone with ID. Photograph scales on left and right sides of the head!!!! Forward pictures to [redacted]

There will be many crowded days with lots of people on the beach and in the water. Monitoring everything can be challenging, frustrating, and tiring. Attempt to inform snorkelers about keeping a respectful distance from the honu before they actually get in the water. If a person is close enough to touch a turtle, he is way too close. That's a good guideline.

Remember that tone of voice can be magical. The calmer you can be the better! Raising one's voice to get someone's attention is sometimes necessary, but your tone is the key! Let's face it, we sometimes encounter rude visitors looking to be offended and wanting to be confrontational. Try not to take the bait! We realize this is sometimes easier said than done. Stepping away rather than escalating a negative encounter can be your answer. Calling 911 is **only** an option if you feel your physical well-being is threatened. (Reference #'s in the laminated copy of **Malama na Honu Policies and Procedures** located in the black binder.)

Use the DLNR Tip phone app (preferred method) or the DLNR Enforcement Hotline [(808) 643-3567] to report very serious turtle harassment you cannot prevent or stop.

Figure 5.11: "Beach reminders" *Metadiscourse on how to talk and act in dealing with 'confrontation' while doing sea turtle protection.*

This checklist is a form of metadiscourse, or externalized representation of sea turtle interpretation that aims to 'enregister' (Agha 2007) to a certain degree how volunteers use the discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation. In this function, it gives instructions on not just what to do and say, but, crucially, how to do and say it: "never yelling and always with Aloha." This last item comes under the heading 'outreach,' which identifies the key practice of educational talk that honu guardians are instructed to do as part of their 'honu duties.' This 'outreach' section of the checklist highlights the interactional responsibilities required of volunteers, in particular to "be available on the shoreline" in order to answer tourists' questions. Mālama na Honu uses this checklist as a means to standardize how volunteers 're-entextualize' a discourse of 'outreach' in their face-to-face interaction with tourists in answering questions, and enforcing 'respectful viewing guidelines.'

In the highlighted text, volunteers are reminded that: "tone of voice can be magical" when 'informing' people to 'keep a respectful distance.' In an interview with OL, she told me that while the strength of *Mālama na Honu* is its core group of dedicated volunteers who have been volunteering for several years, the fact that they need to have volunteers on the beach 365 days a year means that they need to constantly seek out new volunteers to 'man the beach' given the high turnover rate of volunteers coming and going throughout the year. This means that some volunteers will be more aligned with Mālama Na Honu's diplomatic approach to 'inform' tourists of a respectful distance with the right 'tone of voice.' But these efforts to enregister volunteers is difficult to manage, and as a consequence for some members of the community on North Shore *Mālama na Honu* has come to have a negative reputation due to some of its more overzealous volunteers who have taken the enforcement aspect rather than the educational aspect of *Mālama na Honu* more to heart.

This has been a particulary difficult issue for Mālama na Honu when new or over-zealous volunteers scold surfers, fishermen or other 'Local' members of the community who frequent the beach.[35] Recognizing this tension, through drawing volunteers' attention to not just what to say,

[35] In my conversation with a long-time (over 50 years) local surfer at Laniākea Beach, for example, he referred to the non-profit as 'a para-military group' while another surfer even went so far as to refer to the volunteers as 'turtle Nazis.' When surfers who have been surfing the waves at Laniākea Beach for years are yelled at by volunteers, or when 'Locals' bring their family to spend a day at the beach are scolded by

but how to say it, OL seeks to cultivate in volunteers a sensitivity to something more akin to a diplomatic stance in moments of confrontation. In the excerpt below for example, OL narrates an experience she had with informing a 'Local' person about respectful viewing guidelines:

Excerpt 5.4 "Sista, I got your back"

42 OL: I'll go up and say hey do you mind there's a lot of turtles do you mind trying not to get too
43 close, and they're like "F you" ((laughter)) and that happens
44 V1: And then they get bit
OL: and then I'm like we'll you know what thank you but no thank you and let's do this and I'll tell em you know what, if you don't wanna do that then do me a favor, help me, if you see people, because you're from here, you know how precious they are in the wild if you see people get too close do you mind telling them. And they'll be like 'sista I got your back.' I'm like good and they will. It's just about working with the public.

Volunteers were sensitive to differentiating the identity of 'Locals' as opposed to 'tourists' at Laniākea Beach. In the above excerpt, OL narrates how she strategically brought a 'Local' person who was initially hostile to her request to give a sea turtle space, on board with Mālama na Honu's objectives of protecting sea turtles. This was accomplished through reframing the identity of the individual from a transgressor to a partner, made possible through a mutual orientation to the 'preciousness' and 'wildness' of sea turtles that honu guardians imagine themselves as sharing with 'Local' people, an identity category associated with a spatial identity of being 'from here.' This Local spatial identity is further constructed through the OL's use of Pidgin in constructed dialogue: 'Sista I got your back!' OL's constructed dialogue here begins to touch the surface of how Mālama na Honu members imagine their activities as connected to Local and Hawaiian environmental practices that they envision as aligning with their duties of protecting Hawai'i's natural resources from harm.

a non-local 'haole' volunteer for getting too close to a sea turtle, the resentment this generates in discourse surrounding the non-profit in discussions on community board websites on Facebook, as well as in my interviews with local residents is a recurring discourse.

However, as with other volunteer-based environmental non-profits I am familiar with in Hawai‘i whose membership appears to be largely composed of non-Local and non-Hawaiian volunteers (e.g. *haole* people from the U.S. mainland), the appropriation of Hawaiian language resources in these organizations' names, educational materials, and spoken discourse raises critical questions about the degree to which they actually allow 'Hawaiian meanings to infuse the Hawaiian values' they espouse through Hawaiian language as concommitant with traditional Hawaiian modes of conservation governance that they claim to uphold and speak for (Goldberg-Hiller & Silva, 2011). While not the primary focus of this dissertation, I recognize in my own observations of discursive practices at Laniākea Beach that the appropriation of Hawaiian language resources in written and spoken discourse are strategically mobilized by these organziations to legitimize and authenticate Western-based environmental governance philosophies, values and practices centered on separating humans from and protecting 'wild nature' from human incursion. Future research is needed to gain a more robust understanding of the proliferation of Western-based volunteer organizations in recent years, and increasingly, 'volunteer-tourism' organized around wildlife protection in postcolonial contexts, and their connection to local community and indigenous modes of environmental resource management (but see chapter 7 in Lorimer 2015; Lie & Leung 2019 on international volunteer tourism centered on green sea turtle conservation activities in Taiwan, and the social friction with local indigenous groups, as well as threats to sea turtles they have uninentinally contributed to through their volunteer activities to protect these animals).

5.4.2 The interaction order

In this section, I examine how a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation is actually carried out by volunteers in interaction at the beach. According to Bhatia (2003), "communicative purpose which the genre is intended to serve is the most important factor in genre identification" (p. 95). A mediated discourse approach to speech genres (Jones 2016) compliments Bhatia's approach to genre analysis as it takes the communicative goals people endeavor to carry out in interaction as primary, and then asks what semiotic and material resources social actors mobilize to carry out these actions and goals. Building on this action-based approach to genre analysis, my identification of the discourse genre of sea turtle

interpretation emerged from my ethnographic observations (as both a participant and neutral observer) of how volunteers repeatedly used specific communicative and material resources to carry out, or 'remediate' (Prior and Hengst 2010) self-similar discourses and practices again and again in their interactions with tourists. The primary actions involved in sea turtle interpretation that I observed at the beach in honu guardians' practices are depicted hierarchically in the figure below from higher to lower-level actions (Norris 2004).

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="5">Higher-level actions
↕
Lower-level actions</td><td colspan="8">Doing sea turtle interpretation</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Protecting sea turtles</td><td colspan="3">Doing 'outreach'</td><td colspan="2">Collecting 'honu' data</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Placing ropes</td><td>Setting up signs</td><td>Regulating interaction</td><td colspan="2">Providing information to visitors</td><td>Identifying basking sea turtles</td><td>Recording basking data</td></tr>
<tr><td>Fetching rope basket</td><td>Waiting for sea turtle to find spot on sand</td><td>Placing multilingual regulation signs and sea turtle ID signs around sea turtle</td><td colspan="2">Effectively communicating viewing guidelines to international visitors

Using 'x' gesture to stop 'non-Western' tourists from touching/crowding sea turtles.</td><td colspan="2">Drawing on sea turtle knowledge and personal experience to answer questions and make new questions relevant

Showing t-shirt map and pointing to French Frigate Shoals (see figures 13-15)</td><td>Using identification book to identify sea turtles basking on the beach

Showing tourist identification book/explaining data collection</td><td>Recording time of day when turtles arrive to bask and return to the ocean</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5.12 Higher and lower-level actions of 'doing sea turtle interpretation'

5.4.2.1 "Doing outreach"

Volunteers' enactment of the discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation involves an interactional format comprised of a series of discursive 'moves.' To help illustrate what I mean by 'moves,' consider an interaction I had while volunteering at the beach with a 'turtle tourist' from Korea:

Excerpt 5.5 "Where can I see the turtle?"

1	Tou 1:	where can I see the turtle?	(Move 1) -> Move 2
2	Gav:	Um eh you just missed it maybe about half an hour ago it left	
3	Tou 1:	((laughter))	
4	Gav:	Yeah sorry,	
5	Tou 1:	ok, they come back?	Move 3
6	Gav:	Not today probably, yeah	
7	Tou 1:	Okay	
8	Gav:	they come out in the middle of the day,	
9	Tou 1:	uh-huh	
10	Gav:	because it's hot	
11	Tou 1:	okay	
12	Gav:	and then they go back in at the end of the day	
13	Tou 1:	I:: see	
14	Gav:	so yeah, so are you coming back tomorrow?	
15	Tou 1:	((laughter)) no	
16	Gav:	oh okay	
17	Tou 1:	no no time	
18	Gav:	no time okay, is this your first time here?	
19	Tou 1:	Yeah	
20	Gav:	Where are you visiting from?	
21	Tou 1:	Korea	
22	Gav:	Oh	
23		((conversation continues for around 10 minutes. Some of the actions include me retrieving Korean language brochure, discussing my doctoral research with *Mālama na Honu*, showing tourist the sea turtle ID book, explaining practice of how volunteers identify sea turtles, answering further questions about sea turtle basking and behavior)).	
24	Tou 2:	((@10 minutes into conversation, an American tourist interrupts our conversation to ask if it's alright to snorkel at Laniākea Beach, I begin answering his question))	(Move 1) -> Move 2

25 Tou 1: Okay, [thank you Move 4

26 Gav: [yeah have a good one, have a good day

While tourists can find sea turtles basking at Laniākea Beach on most days, sometimes they arrive on a day when no sea turtles are basking, or they arrive before a sea turtle has arrived, or just after a sea turtle has returned to the ocean, as is the case in the excerpt above. Here, there are four distinctive moves that consistently emerge in the sequencing of turns that volunteers and tourists take in interaction (although with ample variation as I discuss in regards to other excerpts below).

Move 1: Institutional and interactional identities are established (verbally omitted but interactionally inferred, presumably through visitors' recognition of my honu guardian 'uniform,' my interactions with other tourists, and my spatial proximity to other 'expressive equipment' like holding red ropes and clipboards)

Move 2: Question-Answer sequence initiation ("Where can I see the turtle?")

Move 3: "Doing interpretation": Co-constructed sequence of question-answer pair-parts between volunteer and visitor mediated by a range of semiotic and material resources (linguistic resources, narrative formats, embodied gestures, material objects like brochures and educational books, etc...).

Move 4: Closing sequence. This may be volunteer- or tourist-initiated, or in the case above, when other tourists intervene in an on-going conversation.

Bhatia (1993) describes the moves that contribute to the communicative goals of a particular genre as 'discriminative moves' (he examines genres such as job application letters and student dissertation introductions to give a couple examples). Discriminative moves, as listed above in the case of excerpt 5.5, enable "a typical communicative intention which is always subservient to the overall communicative purpose of the genre." In this sense, we might also call moves 'lower-level actions' (Norris, 2004) that contribute to the overall communicative purpose of sea turtle interpretation. In the excerpt above, I carry out the overall communicative goal of sea turtle 'outreach' through a series of lower-level actions or 'moves,' like answering the visitor's questions by drawing on my own personal knowledge of sea turtles ("they come out

in the middle of the day…because it's hot"). But I also ask questions to mitigate what I orient to as the Korean visitor's disappointment at just missing a sea turtle basking on the beach half an hour before: "are you coming back tomorrow?"

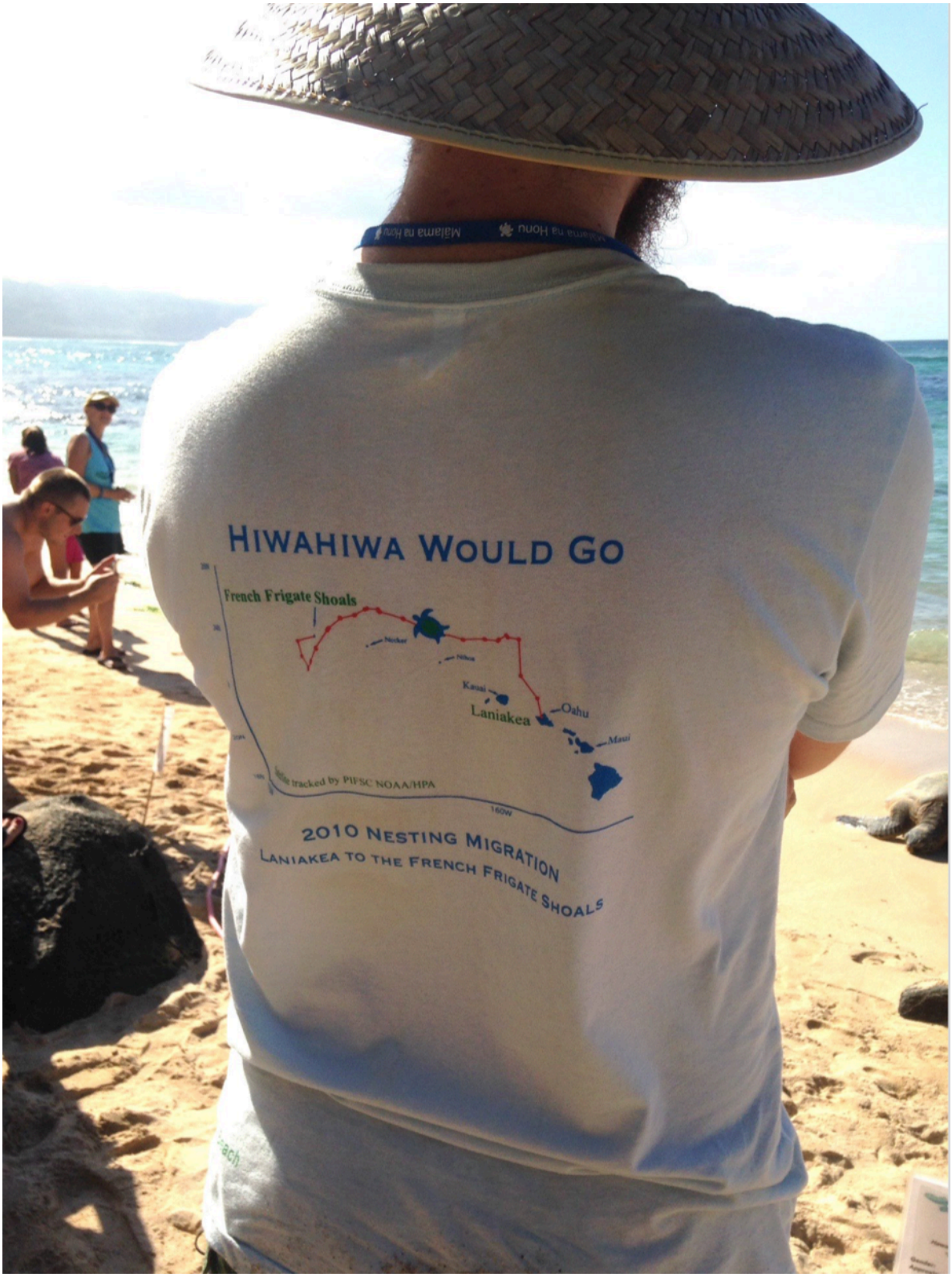


Figure 5.13 The 'T-shirt map' of Hiwahiwa's migratory trajectory *between Laniākea Beach and the French Frigate Shoals.*

Figure 5.14 Mobilizing the ‘t-shirt map’ to do sea turtle outreach.

Figure 15: Two different volunteers mobilizing the same practice while doing outreach*: pointing to the French Frigate Shoals (500 miles beyond the horizon) in talking about sea turtle migration patterns.*

In contrast to 'discriminative moves' that constitute genres, Bhatia (1993) describes how people also use 'non-discriminative strategies' in deploying a discourse genre to carry out their communicative goals. These strategies involve the "options within the *allowable contributions* available to an author for creative or innovative genre construction." In other words, in negotiating the unpredictable and constantly shifting contingencies of doing sea turtle

interpretation in actual interaction at the beach, volunteers creatively draw on different semiotic and material resources to adapt them to changing interactional circumstances. In the excerpt below, for example, OL approaches two female tourists from Japan who are visibly looking around in search of sea turtles. This interaction took place in the mid-morning, and there were no sea turtles basking at the beach at the time. The interaction begins when OL asks if they need any help and the following interaction ensues:

Excerpt 5.6 "Are you doing the turtle or something?"

1	OL:	Do you guys need help?	Move 1/Move 2
2	T:	Uh yeah uh (.5)	
3	OL:	Turtle!	
4	T:	yeah turtle ((laughter))	
5	OL:	Where is it? ((laughter)).	Move 2
6	T:	Ah- Are you doing the turtle or something?	Move 1
7	OL:	Yeah, so so no, we're always here on the beach,	
8	T:	uh-huh	
9	OL:	and so we are here to like answer questions for you all,	Move 1/Move 2
10		or you know if you have any, questions. Um.	
11		The turtle will come up after lunch (.) normally.	Move(s) 3
12	T:	After lunch?	
13	OL:	after lunch, so like 12:30=	
14	T:	=uh-huh	
15	OL:	to 4	
16	T:	oh ok	
17	OL:	Better time,	
18	T:	uh-huh	
19	OL:	when the sun is (.5) hotter ((uses hand to fan face))	
20	T:	ahhhhhh, ok	
21	OL:	the sun's like over here (.) when the sun's like over there	
22		((tracing out positions of sun in sky))	
23	T:	uh-huh,	

24 OL: better chance of seeing turtles because they wanna get
25 warm
26 T: maybe a little bit later
27 OL: mm-hmm, a little bit later
28 T: mmm
29 OL: so
30 T: [so they'll be here-
31 OL: [where you all from?
32 T: Japan
33 OL: oh Japan!
34 ((OL introduces me, and conversation continues in
35 Japanese for several minutes, OL departs and returns
36 during this time, T finally closes conversation by saying
37 'thank you' @10 minutes in)) Move 4

Volunteers do not simply reproduce the discourse genre of sea turtle outreach in interaction, but must continually re-construct their actions and identities with an ever changing group of tourists. This involves various discursive strategies that serve to persuasively and efficiently convey who they are, and what their sea turtle 'message' is. For example, OL does not just initiate this interaction by asking if the two women need help, but by further exclaiming 'Turtle!' she is able to attribute a 'turtle tourist' identity to the two women, which they confirm in line 4. She then attunes her communication to the perceived linguistic backgrounds of the tourists (OL slows her speech down considerably in lines 12-29 to accommodate the English proficiency of the tourists), as well as the time of day, and the performance of basking sea turtles (which she claims a high degree of epistemic certainty in knowing: line 11).

The main point I want to emphasize here is how OL strategically recruits the emplacement of this interaction in the material environment to carry out her communicative goals of sea turtle interpretation. In other words, beyond spoken language, she skillfully harnesses the absence of sea turtles (line 5), the use of embodied gestures coupled with the temporal trajectory of the sun (lines 19-22), as well as the heat it (will) provides (line 24), all as multisensorial resources for successfully doing sea turtle interpretation with tourists from different linguistic backgrounds.

Here, OL's communicative repertoire emerges not strictly from her individual competence as an expert volunteer, but from a temporary semiotic assemblage of material and discursive resources (Pennycook and Otsuji 2017). Here she weaves the discursive 'moves' of doing sea turtle outreach together with embodied gestures, affective stances and epistemic stances, the absence/presence of sea turtles, and the moving sun among other things.

In addition, volunteers do not just bring heterogenous resources together in assemblages to carry out their communicative goals at the beach. They also talk about these assemblages through metadiscourse as a further strategy to 'do outreach.' The excerpt below shows how material resources are woven together in volunteer-tourist interaction along with volunteer talk about how volunteers use these discourses in place for different purposes. In the excerpt below, the interaction between a honu guardian (HG) and a Japanese tourist (T) to the beach is made possible through material objects like sea turtle identification books (figure 5.7 above), educational brochures (figure 5.9 above), but also metadiscourse about the practice of collecting data on sea turtles. The transcript is meant to foreground the shifting semiotic assemblages of verbal and material resources the volunteer mobilizes at different 'moments' of the unfolding interaction.

Excerpt 5.7 “We report all this information to NOAA”

Line	Actor	Verbal Resources	Embodied & Material Resources	Moment
1	HG	Volunteers who’ve done this for a while {know that’s	*V points to Hiwahiwa basking on beach*	
2		Hiwahiwa somebody just starting out you know	*T turns to look where V is pointing*	
3		might have to go to the book you know right	*V looks down at Turtle ID book and opens it*	
4		((repositioning camera from 0:06 – 0:25))		
5	HG	and they go on to the next female (that) would be	V points to turtle ID photos in book	
6		Sapphire and they would, they would compare the	T directs gaze to ID book	
7		scales for Sapphire and straight through the book	V makes cycling motion with hand	Moment 1
8		until they found one that matched up, if it doesn’t		
9		match up, then they would send a (picture) to me,		
10		and we would keep a record of that turtle in case it		
11		((repositioning camera to allow tourists to pass 0:38 -		
12		0:50))		
13	HG	3 new turtles the year before last and- 4 new turtles	V extends 3, then 4 fingers	
14		and 2 of them we had seen before	V extends 2 fingers	
15		(.5)		
16	T	Wow so you guys are so observant and [( )	T directs gaze to V and smiles	
17	HG	[yes, oh yes	V looks down to put book away in bag	
18	T	and so it’s [all	V emphasizes ‘all’ with hands-open gesture	
19	HG	[we report all this information to NOAA		
20		which is the federal agency that uh is in charge of	V returns gaze to T after putting book away	
21		uh protecting them and uh you know it all goes into	T nods while gazing at V	Moment 2
22		a database	T points to brochure stand	
23	T	I’ll get uh a flyer? or	T walks over to brochure stand	Moment 3
24	HG	yes, yes we have uh	V walks over to brochure stand	
25		(2.0)		
26	HG	we have English, (Korean), we have Japanese, we	V points out different language brochures	Moment 4
27		have simplified Chinese, and Spanish	T points to English brochure	
28			T takes English brochure, then Chinese	
29			brochure, then Japanese brochure.	
30	T	Thank you	T thanks V as she walks away	
31	HG	you’re welcome		

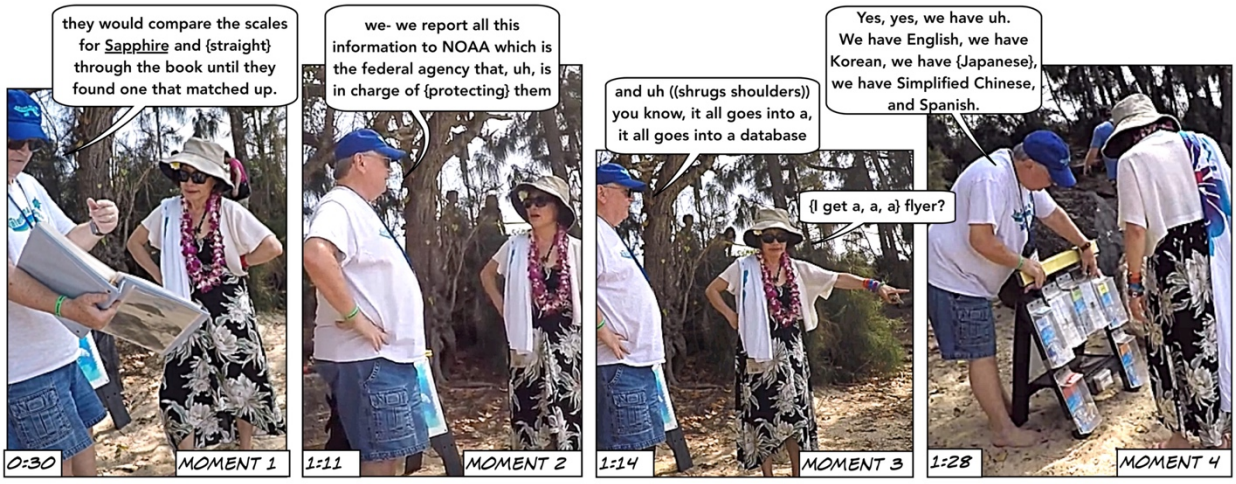


Figure 5.16: A volunteer uses metadiscourse about volunteer practices *along with material objects of honu identification to carry out the goal of sea turtle ‘outreach’ with a tourist from Japan.*

The interaction begins before I began videorecording, when T approaches HG and asks him how he is able to identify the sea turtle lying on the beach. In response to T’s question, HG provides

an extended metadiscursive commentary (lines 1-15) on the practices involved in identifying sea turtles, drawing T's attention to the ID book (moment 1), and describing how newer members (unlike HG), need to carefully 'match up' photos in the book to identify which individual basking sea turtle – of all the potential 'Laniākea Baskers' is currently on the beach (e.g Sapphire, Hiwahiwa, George, see figure 8 above). In particular, note HG's repeated use of the pronoun 'we' to provide metacommentary on how the volunteer community goes about doing sea turtle data collection. Through these resources, HG is able to position himself in relation to his skills at using these different discourses in place through metadiscourse. As Jones (2016) suggests, an important reason for examining how people identify themselves with particular communities has "to do with how [communities] come to be 'imagined' as communities by their members, and what people can 'do' with them once they have been imagined" (Jones, 2016, p. 176). Here, HG's metadiscursive construction of Mālama na Honu as a community through the use of talk, embodied gesture and objects becomes a further tool enabling him not just 'be' a particular kind of person (a skilled volunteer). This imagined community also enables him to effectively carry out his communicative goals of doing sea turtle outreach with international visitors at the beach.

5.4.2.2 Protecting sea turtles

In addition to doing 'outreach,' another practice involving the mobilization of sea turtle interpretation discourse is 'protecting sea turtles,' an activity that involves preventing visitors to Lanaiakea Beach from 'harrassing' sea turtles. Harrasment, a legal term in the Endangered Species Act, is a notorioulsy problematic term for people engaged in conservation management around sea turtles in Hawai'i because of the legal grey around the definition of the term.
In light of these legal ambiguities, Mālama na Honu's policy, as decribed above, suggests that best thing volunteers can do when 'harrassment' is perceived is to communicate 'firmly' but 'with aloha' appropriate viewing guidelines to visitors. This is a fraught but fascinating legal area of the ESA and how it relates to tourist interactions with Hawaiian green sea turtles, much beyond the scope of this chapter (but see Heise, 2016). But in this section, my focus here is on how Mālama na Honu volunteers negotiated these ambiguities in interaction, and developed

strategies, in their efforts to establish 'respectful viewing guidelines' to maintain a 'respectful' distance between people and sea turtles.

First, the generic moves constituting 'protecting sea turtles' differs somewhat from 'doing outreach.' In this sense, it is useful to consider 'outreach' and 'protection' as sub-genres of the larger genre of sea turtle interpretation. For example, the basic series of moves constituting the genre of sea turtle protection include:

Move 1: Institutional and interactional identities are established (verbally omitted but interactionally inferred, presumably through visitors' recognition of my honu guardian 'uniform,' my interactions with other tourists, and my spatial proximity to other 'expressive equipment' like holding red ropes and clipboards)

Move 2: Request (Demand) – Acceptance/Rejection of sea turtle viewing guidelines. As this move involves the action of doing protection, it also invokes volunteers' institutional identity, and associated interactional rights and obligations to request that people treat sea turtles 'with respect and aloha' at the beach. These requests may be recognized and accepted by tourists, partially recognized, or ignored.

Move 3: Depending on tourist response, the volunteer may shift frames from doing protection to doing outreach: For example, giving account of why request/demand was made, and answering subsequent questions the tourist may have. On the other hand, depending on the interactional 'style' of the volunteer, more confrontational frames might ensue if tourists ignore or continue 'harassing' sea turtles.

Move 4: Closing sequence. This may coincide with tourists' acceptance/rejection in move 2: "oh okay," or "F-you!"

There is a general pattern involved in how volunteers use the discourse genre of protection to carry out their communicative goals. But because these interactions involve face-threatening acts where tourists are attributed with a 'transgressive' identity by volunteers, tourists may respond in

more or less compliant ways, requiring volunteers to tactfully negotiate 'face strategies' in these encounters. Scollon, Scollon and Jones (2012) define face strategies as "the negotiated public image mutually granted to each other by participants in a communicative event." While doing 'outreach' involves fairly low-stakes interactional engagements, doing 'protection' requires tactfully negotiating 'interactional frames' (Goffman 1967; Tannen and Wallat 1987), as the first 'move' volunteers make is critical in how these interactions (un)succesfully play out. In addition, people perceived as harassing sea turtles by volunteers, whether through crowding, touching, or otherwise, may also come from a variety of linguistic backgrounds with different levels of English proficiency. Consider the excerpt below for example,

Excerpt 5.8 "They have diseases"

1	V:	10 feet, 10 feet, 10 feet, 10 feet, {10 feet}	Move 1	{Moment 1}
2		no no no no no, {no no no} (1.2) sorry		{Moment 2}
3	T1:	{No touch?}	Move 2	{Moment 3}
4	V:	No touch (2.0) Sorry (4.2) besides you can get sick	Move 3	
5		(1.5) you can get sick from touching them (.5) they		
6		have {disea::ses}		{Moment 4}
7	T2:	{oooohhh okay ((out of frame))	Move 4	

Figure 5.17 "Sea turtles have diseaeses"

How to effectively communicate 'respectful viewing guidelines' across linguistic and cultural boundaries was a preoccupation of many volunteers I interviewed. In my conversations with volunteers, for example, 'Asian tourists' moving through the beach space were a potential source of concern, in part because of the 'language barrier' that could prevent communication as I was told, but also because of a discourse circulating among some volunteers I interviewed that "it is lucky to touch [sea turtles] in Asian culture."[36] The 'cross-armed' gesture was one resource that

[36] A discourse that tactile contact with sea turtles could bestow luck on the toucher was connected by several volunteers to folklore in these cultures of a hero riding a sea turtles to travel to mystical underwater kingdoms. The Japanese folktale of Urashima Taro was explicitly mentioned by three separate volunteers to me, although volunteers referred to this story in more or less abstract terms (e.g. "that Asian myth about the man who rides the sea turtle"). Specifically, the story is of a boy who protects a sea turtle from being harassed on the beach by other

circulated by word of mouth in the organization as an effective means to regulate interaction with tourists perceived to be from ethno-national demographics such as China, Korea or Japan.

In the extract above, a group of tourists speaking Cantonese were wading in the near shore area, reaching out and touching the several sea turtles foraging in the nearshore. I was in mid-conversation with this volunteer as he began telling me he may need to go stop these tourists from touching turtles. He then rushed over to them with his arms outstretched yelling in repetition several times "10 feet!" (moment 1) and then crossing his arms at head-level in the 'do not' gesture coupled with several more repetitions of 'no' (moment 2). T mimics the outstreched gesture while uttering 'no touch' (line 3/figure19) displaying understanding of the volunteer's intention. Explaining in English, and using a somewhat staccato style resembling 'foreigner talk' (Tarone 1980) the volunteer says: "you can get sick from touching them, they have disea::ses." Here he emphasizes and extends the mid-syllable of 'diseases,' coupled with his left hand in a pinching formation as if touching something dangerous or disgusting. The tourists acknowledges the volunteer's 'message' with the woman in the hat who stepped out of the frame in figures 19 and 20 replying 'oh okay'. In stating that sea turtles 'have diseases' the volunteer is making reference to fibropapilloma (FP), a tumor-inducing, sea turtle-specific disease associated with the herpes virus. Sea turtles in Hawai'i have been heavily impacted by this disease (Davidson 2003) but it is not contagious for humans. However, in negotiating the challenging circumstances of doing protection, telling tourists they can get herpes from sea turtles was one discursive strategy some volunteers found persuasive for keeping people from touching the animals.

Because Mālama na Honu is constituted by a transient force of volunteer labor, with a fairly high turnover rate of volunteers, figuring how best to train and standardize 'best practices' among a continually new group of volunteers has been an on-going issue for the organization. For example, volunteers may evaluate one another's practices around doing protection as 'too easy going' or 'too aggressive.' Furthermore, due to the legal grey areas surrounding enforcement of harassment, a metadiscourse of volunteer strategies for doing protection circulates among volunteers in the organization as they learn from more experienced volunteers

children, and is rewarded with a ride on the sea turtle's back to a mysterious underwater kingdom to meet the princess living there.

how best to deal with confrontational situations with visitors. Consider the excerpt below for example from one of the semi-structured interviews I conducted with volunteers at Laniākea Beach. Leading up to this excerpt, I ask the volunteer how she communicates protection discourse to tourists with language backgrounds other than English:

Excerpt 5.9: "Sometimes that language barrier is real"

1 V1: Sometimes that language barrier is real
2 Me: Yeah
3 V1: And more often than not it's
4 Me: Did that happen to you before?
5 V1: Oh a lot. Someone told me do this ((does x gesture with arms)) if you really want 'em to
6 stop! ((claps hands together))
7 Me: ((laughter))
8 V1: That's universical ((does x gesture again)), STOP, and I have used that a few times and it
9 has worked.

Here, the volunteer describes how she negotiates 'that language barrier' in her encounters with international tourists form different linguistic backgrounds. Her use of the phrase 'sometimes…real' in line 1 to construct a stance towards the language barrier between volunteers and tourists indexes a common perspective among the primarily American, English-speaking volunteers that tourists may sometimes 'pretend not to speak English' to ignore volunteers' requests. As another volunteer told me in an interview in recounting an interaction she had with a Japanese tourist trying to touch a sea turtle,' saying to the woman, "you need to respect ours [laws], like really nicely. She pretended not to speak English but I knew she did, I knew she did. (me: how?) You can tell (me: Oh okay.) You can tell when a Japanese person speaks English." In the excerpt above, one strategic resource this volunteer learned to communicate across 'language barriers,' whether real or perceived, was the 'crossed-arm x-gesture' (see figure 5.17 above), that 'has worked' (line 9) for her.

As Martin (1985) argues, "genres are how things get done when language is used to accomplish them" (p. 250). But the sea turtle genre of protection, as the above excerpts show,

also involve embodied and material resources, like cross-armed gestures and red ropes, 'to get things done.' However, examining the communicative purpose of the sub-genre of sea turtle protection, and its embedding in the overall genre of sea turtle interpretation, reveals how volunteers deploy this genre not to just get one thing done with multiple resources, but to get multiple communicative goals done too. These goals include things like establishing authority and insider/outsider identity, to negotiating epistemic status and affective displays. In negotiating these multiple communicative purposes, volunteers play with the move structure of doing protection in order to interpellate vistors more persuasively. Take the following excerpt for example, where a volunteer describes a strategy she learned from OL for persuading a tourist to give a sea turtle space:

Excerpt 5.10: "You put the responsibility onto them"

1	V2:	Sometimes it's the way that you word it to get them to do what we want
2	Me:	( )
3	V2:	And I will be honest I'm not that great,
4	Me:	That's why I was asking her, like what does she say
5	V2:	Yeah, like what did she say? She said, "They're more than likely to come on shore if you
6		(let) them."
7	Me:	Yeah
8	V2:	So you put the responsibility onto them [the tourists]
9	Me:	Yes
10	V2:	You'd think cause I have kids, that maybe I'd talk well, but I've never had tact, I do like
11		the one thing, "Ma'am, you need to step back now!"
12	Me:	Yeah ((laughter)), that's kind of how I've done it

In line 5 in the above excerpt for example, V2 describes how OL ('she') told her how to talk to tourists who were too close to sea turtles: "They're more than likely to come on shore if you (let) them." She goes on to provide a metacommentary on what this utterance is doing – instilling a sense of accountability in tourists for their transgressive behavior – in line 7: "So you put the responsibility on them." Through this constructed dialogue, V2 points to one strategy of preventing people getting too close to sea turtles when they are swimming in the near shore area by telling tourists that they will in effect have a better experience by giving sea turtles space so

they can 'come on shore.' Here, V2 attributes a degree of rhetorical skill to OL. And in contrasting her single, more direct and confrontational strategy – "I do like one thing" – she attributes to OL's skill in deploying a toolkit of rhetorical strategies to negotiate different moments of potentially confrontational interactions. The point I want to make here is not just to draw attention to how volunteers carry out their goals of doing sea turtle protection, but the ample metadiscourse generated around these practices that make them recognizable to volunteers and become tools around which they can imagine their identity within the larger discourse community of honu guardians in Mālama na Honu.

Acting as 'turtle police,' as one long-time volunteer put it to me, was not what volunteers should be doing at the beach I was told. In other words, among senior volunteers there was a consensus that their efforts to prevent sea turtles from being harassed at the beach should not be as enforcement officers, but as 'outreach' personnel. This was in part an effort to align with Mālama na Honu's mission statement, with 'to protect sea turtles in the spirit of aloha.' But in carrying out their efforts to prevent sea turtle harassment, volunteers developed idiosyncratic strategies for how best to discursively carry out these efforts effectively. These creative tactics that volunteers develop are the 'non-discriminative' strategies that allow volunteers to play with the genres of sea turtle interpretation while still maintaining their effectiveness for carrying out different communicative objectives at the beach.

5.5 Conclusion

In making the distinction between conventional 'moves' and contingent 'strategies' that make up the discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation, my aim in this chapter was to foreground the reflexive and metadiscursive construction of a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation, involving volunteers' adaptation of a variety of semiotic and material resources (discourse in place) to carry out their communicative goals in ever-changing interactional situations (interaction order) at the beach. This helps bring focus to how volunteers do not simply *reproduce* a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation. Rather, they continually *re-attune* (Pennycook 2017) their idiosyncratic discursive repertoire of sea turtle interpretation to a shifting assemblage of semiotic and material resources that come together at the nexus of objects, bodies,

discourse and place at Laniākea Beach. Attunement is different from reproduction, as I discuss more in the following chapter, because it does not just involve repetition, but creatively adjusting the affordances of discursive and material resources in order to retain their rhetorical efficacy of a genre in ever new situations. That is, in their struggles to control the spread of a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation, volunteers' efforts require continually redefining and remaking sites of engagement in order to fit this genre through the contingent and syncretic circumstances of situated action which they must contend with to 'survive' (Latour 1987, p. 251).

Bhatia (1993) refers to these creative and transformative aspects of genre use as genre 'bending' and 'blending' practices. This brings focus to the inherent tension between institutionalized genre conventions of sea turtle interpretation, and the creative innovation in volunteers' situated use of the genre of sea turtle interpretation in practice. In investigating this tension, it becomes more clear how a certain degree of slippage occurs between the institutional aspirations of Mālama na Honu to standardize volunteers' practices, and how volunteers must strategically deploy –and inevitably alter to some degree – this genre in the shifting contingencies of interaction. My effort in this chapter was to examine this tension, not just as a theoretical concern, but as a concern for lead volunteers like OL in Mālama na Honu in her efforts to standardize its volunteers' practices to carry out sea turtle interpretation 'in the spirit of Aloha.' This is accomplished in part through how volunteers come to imagine their membership in Mālama na Honu around their use of a genre of sea turtle discourse to achieve shared goals of public outreach (cf. Swales 1990). But in examining how volunteers actually mobilize this discourse genre, talk about it with one another, and alter it in practice, this reveals the creative strategies they use, and the new resources they add to the genre to make it effective across different semiotic modes and material media (Iedema, 2003; Latour 2005; Scollon 2008). This further highlights how this discourse genre is an important *technology of talk* (Scollon, 2001; Jones, 2016) as a site of constant metadiscursive discussion and debate open to continued revision, and around which volunteers are able to imagine to image their identity as members of this volunteer organization.

CHAPTER 6

SEA TURTLES AND IDENTITY AS MATTERS OF CONCERN

> *"Every action occurs at an intersection of multiple lines of actions, discourses, material and biological life trajectories and is therefore inevitably culturally complex… the relevant question is not: Is this or is this not a moment of intercultural communication? The question that needs to be asked is: What interests does it serve to discursively construct this moment as one of intercultural communication?"*
>
> *– Scollon 2002, pp. 1-2, cited in Jones 2016, p. 166*

6.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters, I examined how Laniākea Beach became a tourism destination and how honu guardians deployed a discourse of sea turtle outeach. In this chapter, I expand my scope to the community surrounding Laniākea Beach to discuss the range of stances taken toward sea turtles by both volunteers and tourists, but also members of the wider community. When asking why different people perceive and interact with animals and nature in divergent ways, cultural difference seems to be a ready resource for explaining the multiple, contrasting and often mutually antagonistic points of view people hold about the natural world. For instance, in popular discourse, links between different aesthetic appreciations of nature with ethnonational or regional identity are common, such as "the idea that the Japanese love manicured gardens with bonsai-like trees, whereas North Americans like rugged landscapes of untouched wilderness" (Satsuka 2015, p. 1). At Laniākea Beach, a similar attribution of culture-nature identities emerged in my research on how volunteers and other stakeholders in the community described their own and others' cultural and emotional attachments to sea turtles, for example, in statements about how "Asians like to touch sea turtles because it's lucky," or "Americans just think *wild* sea turtles are cool!" In other words, the evaluative stances people take – and are claimed to take – towards sea turtles were a key site around which community boundaries of intercultural sameness and difference were negotiated.

In this chapter, in asking how volunteers, tourists and other members of the community experience sea turtles in divergent ways, rather than treat these diverse perspectives as reflective of one's membership in different cultural or ideological groups – local/tourist, Japanese/American, Western/non-Western –I instead start with the questions: *which connections* do people make when watching and talking about sea turtles? And *what kinds of connections* are these? (Scollon, 2001; cf. Candea, 2008; Latour, 2005; Strathern, 2005). From this perspective, when people watch and interact with sea turtles, each moment of action creates an assemblage of connections among human and nonhuman entities, events, discourses, beings and places. As the quote at the beginning of this chapter suggests, people's embodied actions with sea turtles are contingent, hybrid and syncretic ecocultural spaces composed of elements that bear the discursive traces of many human and nonhuman participants, materials, times and places (see Latour, 2005, p. 200). As a posthumanist orientation to social constructivist approaches, this perspective aims to explore not simply how there are many divergent cultural perspectives about wildlife like sea turtles, but how views and sea turtles transform each other.[37] From this perspective, our semiotic-material actions are nodal points that adhere heterogenous connections among people a and sea turtles together to distinguish and solidfiy ecocultural identities and communities

6.2 Sea turtles as matters of concern

In this chapter, I argue that the stances people take towards sea turtles provide people with an important discursive-material glue to hold more enduring configurations of human-sea

[37] Emerging posthumanist perpsetives argue that social constructivism inadvertently shores up the notion that there is a single, objective nature 'out there,' in the world that is obfuscated by our varied cultural viewpoints 'in here' in the mind (e.g. Hinchliffe, 2007). This critique of social constructivism as reinforcing the underlying sameness, objectivity and inertness of nature, has come especially from emerging posthumanist approaches in the social sciences searching for ways to attune to how animals and nature participate as agentive members in human society (see for example Barad, 2003). From this posthumanist perspective, there are not just many cultural perspectives on a single nature (multiculturalism), but that cultures and natures transform one another in shifting *naturecultures*, suggesting that there are many versions of nature too (multinaturalism) (Haraway 2008; Viveiros de Castro 2014; Weiss & Cadena, 2010). One consequence of this perspective has been calls for moving beyond the privileging of representationalism (language, symbols, vision, mind) associated with a social constructivist approach, and to reassert the central importance of materiality, living ecologies, affect, and the body in critical posthuman analyses.

turtle identities and communities together. This approach aims to shed light on how sea turtles have become key *matters of concern* at Laniākea Beach (Latour, 2004). In contrast to stable and undisputed *matters of fact*, sea turtles are controversial and uncertain entities of on-going discussion and debate. Environmental issues of debate such as climate change, fracking, GMOs, and as I explore in this case, human-wildlife interaction, are key examples of matters of concern since they involve gatherings of multiple and conflicting points of view that dispute what these entities actually are. For Latour, the aim is not to debunk these different viewpoints as cultural filters, ideological blinders, or rhetorical devices that more or less distort objective reality, but to ask how views and objects shape each other. From this perspective, analysis should not so much involve critique of conflicting cultural viewpoints *in here* on a single, objective nature *out there*, but instead ask how cultures and natures, subjects and objects, and humans and nonhumans, co-constitute and co-transform one another through mutual activity.[38]

The inspiration for considering sea turtles as matters of concern comes from how identities of cultural difference are produced as people imagine their identities around two radically different but equally controversial entities on another island on the other side of the world in Corsica: the Corsican language, and Corsican wildfires. In her ethnographic research on adult language learners of Corsican, Jaffe (2015) examines how Corsican is not merely a medium of communication for these learners, but itself an "object of study and discussion." Through their metalinguistic evaluations of Corsican, adult learners construct what the Corsican language *is*: an object of pleasurable spoken and written consumption, a portal to experience Corsican culture and village life, a channel to reconnect with one's familial roots, and more. At the same time, these different metalinguistic attachments to Corsican constructed individuals' language learning identities variously as semi-speakers, old-speakers, native-speakers, non-speakers or increasingly as 'new-speakers' of Corsican.

[38] "A matter of concern," Latour (2008) argues, "is what happens to a matter of fact when you add to it its whole scenography, much like you would do by shifting your attention from the stage to the whole machinery of a theatre' (p. 39). In this chapter, I will suggest that the sociolinguistic concept of stancetaking is a useful tool to investigate the 'whole machinery' that produced and sustains human-sea turtle relational identities at the beach and the wider community.

Moving from language to wildfires, Candea (2008) examines how Corsican/non-Corsican identities are distinguished and reinforced around the controversial entity of sprawling wildfires that scorch the Corsican landscape during the hot summer tourist season. Here, he describes how people distinguish themselves as insiders/outsiders, locals/tourists, and Corsicans/Continentals (and even worse, French) through their contested ways of watching, understanding, talking about and feeling these fires. "The fire," he writes, "brings home in a frighteningly immediate way the extent to which persons are themselves *distributed across* and *invested in* a range of human and non-human entities – the fire makes it obvious that they 'belong' to such entities as much as the reverse" (p. 209, emphasis mine). In Corsica, both language and wildfires, as fickle and uncertain matters of concern, are enlisted in divergent and dynamic ways to compose an array of identities of inclusion/exclusion, insider/outsider, and local/non-local on the island. In considering these divergent attachments that people hold towards Corsican language and fire, in what follows, I build on these ideas to examine how volunteers and tourists at Laniākea Beach and members of the wider community enlist sea turtles as matters of concern through their epistemic and affective stance-taking, producing intercultural identities in the process.

6.3 Stance-taking in sea turtle tourism and conservation at Laniākea Beach

For sociolinguists, stances are a focal unit of analysis for investigating "the inventory of footings taken in the course of communication: [stance] is the "how" of the process of alignment" (Jaffe, 2009, p.10). Footing (Goffman, 1981) refers to the shifting alignments, or degrees of solidarity, people take up towards their own and others' utterances, and by extension towards themselves and other participants, by managing the production and reception of their utterances in interaction. At Laniākea Beach, people's stances towards sea turtles enable them to frame sea turtles as certain kinds of charismatic beings (happy, scared, lazy), and in the process, attribute themselves and their interlocutors with certain interactional identities (knowledgeable, amazed, disappointed). At the same time, evaluative stances and interpersonal alignments in turn are indirectly tied to top down ideological associations that come to typify these stances or stance-clusters as emblems of certain social identities or group membership (Kiesling, 2004; Bucholtz, 2009; Cook, 1990; Ochs 1993; Inoue, 2004; Kockelman, 2004). In this way, these

studies show how stance is a central mediating link between the three levels of linguistic form, social action and social structure.

While stances suggest an association with internal states of mind such as emotion and understanding, they only come into existence through public communicative acts. As Du Bois (2007) puts it,

> Stance is not something you have, not a property of interior psyche, but something you do, something you take. Taking a stance cannot be reduced to a matter of private opinion or attitude. Using the language of Wittgenstein (1953), we might say: there are no private stances. We deploy overt communicative means – speech, gesture and other forms of symbolic action – to arrive at a dialogic achievement of stance in the public arena (p. 171)

In this sense, stance-taking is a thoroughly social act, accomplished through public evaluations about the world. Through stance-taking, people convey different affective and epistemic modalities of fear and desire, or certainty or uncertainty towards entities, beings and processes in the world. Furthermore, stances do not only involve how people align with co-present participants, but also to a wider field of participants beyond the here and now. As Goffman (1974) puts it, a focus on stance involves "a concern for what one individual can *be alive to* at a particular moment, this often involving a few other particular individuals, and not necessarily restricted to the mutually monitored arena of a face-to-face gathering" (p. 8).

The two types of stance I investigate in this chapter are *epistemic stance* and *affective stance*. Ochs (1996) defines these two types of stance in the following way:

- "Epistemic stance refers to knowledge or belief vis-à -vis some focus of concern, including degrees of certainty of knowledge, degrees of commitment to truth of propositions, and sources of knowledge, among other epistemic qualities" (p. 410).

- "Affective stance refers to a mood, attitude, feeling, and disposition, as well as degrees of emotional intensity vis-à-vis some focus of concern" (p. 410).

Cook (2011), citing these definitions, provides a comprehensive overview of cross-linguistic research on epistemic and affective stance-taking, and argues that "social interaction cannot be carried out without signaling and relying on stance, and that stance-taking is thus fundamental to and ubiquitous in social life" (p. 296). This ubiquity of stances lies in the basic communicative need to evaluate and assess the world one finds oneself in (affect), to show how committed or invested we are in these evaluations (epistemics), and how these evaluations and investments serve to show our solidarity, or lack thereof, with others around us (alignment) (Kiesling, forthcoming). Du Bois (2007) provides a useful model of these dimensions of stance, proposing the stance triangle (see figure 6.1 below) and defines stance in the following way: "Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field" (p.163; see figure 6.1 below).

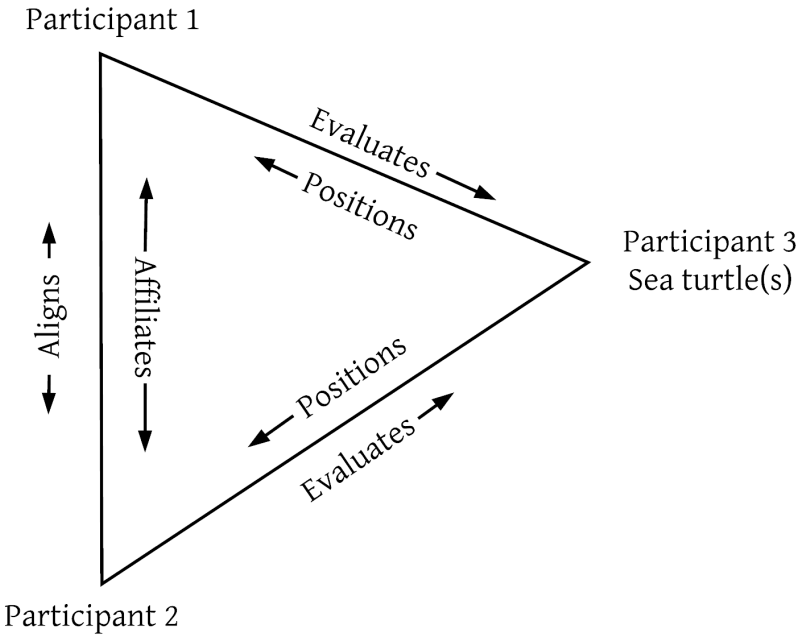


Figure 6.1 The stance triangle - *adapted from Du Bois (2007). Du Bois' original model refers to participants 1 and 2 as stance subjects, and participant 3, the sea turtle in this case, as the stance object. Here, 'participant' aligns with posthumanist perspectives that include both human and nonhuman entities, beings or processes as agentive participants that contribute to interaction.*

As this model shows, when speakers evaluate sea turtles' thoughts, needs, behaviors and appearances, these evaluations also position speakers as certain kinds of people in relation to these animals, as well as serve as resources for aligning with other participants in the social encounter. For example, Tannen (2004) shows that when family members ventriloquize a pet dog by attributing thoughts and feelings to the dog through reported speech, this offers them a strategic resource to give praise or blame to other family members, rekey an interaction with one's spouse from serious to humorous, position themselves as caring family members, or "create a family identity that includes the dogs as family members" (p. 399). Here, dogs are enlisted through stance-taking to establish an *epistemic community* among family members, where "a set of participants who recognize and agree to certain basic "facts" about the world in which they are at that moment participating" (Sidnell, 2011, p. 152). 'Community' here refers to moments of shared understanding between individuals that may only last a few seconds, a few minutes, or potentially cohere shared understandings into more enduring community identities.

In addition, as affective stances co-occur with epistemic stances, we can also observe how people create momentary and overlapping affective communities around dogs too in order to enlist them for more collaborative or conflictive emotional purposes in interaction. This last point suggests that rather than undisputed matters of fact, pets like family dogs are often mobilized as disputed matters of concern, as different family members enlist them for different purposes in spoken discourse, sometimes to create a affiliative family identity, but also to stew conflict, such as when people ventriloquize the voice of a dog to criticize a family member (e.g. "mommy's so mean tonight, you better sit over here and protect me" (Tannen, 2004, p. 399)). This reveals how dogs are not simply consistent and unchanging matters of fact, but fickle and shifting matters of concern, or what have also been called *boundary objects* (Star & Griesemer, 1989). Boundary objects are matters of concern for different epistemic communities that converge around entities or beings like dogs or sea turtles to negotiate, collaborate or contest what the identities of these beings are. As the authors write, "[t]he creation and management of boundary objects is a key process in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds" (p. 393).

In sum, stances offer a useful focal unit of analysis to examine how charismatic wildlife like sea turtles emerge as boundary objects where divergent emotional and epistemic communities converge and conflict. On the one hand, people may come together to produce momentary but collaborative epistemic and affective community around these creatures. On the other, people may mobilize stances to solidify boundaries between these communities in more or less conflictive ways. To reiterate Star & Griesemer (1989), *stance-taking communities* can develop into more than mere fleeting communities lasting a few seconds or minutes when participants briefly agree on some fact about the world: stances also serve to 'maintain coherence across intersecting social worlds.' This resonates with research on stance-taking that suggests that stances may be fleeting, but their recurring use to mobilize similar connections, *sticking* stances and identities together (cf. Ahmed, 2004), can serve to reinforce more enduring connections among objects, knowledge, feelings and figures in the world. Du Bois (2007), for example, argues that "the question of who took which stance is perennially salient, is remembered over time, and counts as negotiable coin in the currency of reported discourse" (p. 173). With this in mind, in the sections below, I examine how people take stances to enact both fleeting stance-taking communities around sea turtles, but also mobilize stances to distinguish and reinforce the boundaries of more enduring stance-taking communities too.

6.4 Analysis of the data

When tourists and volunteers share their experience with one another through public displays of knowing and feeling, or stances, they invoke an array of emotions towards sea turtles like excitement, protective adoration and awe, as well as draw on local and public knowledge about sea turtles accumulated from past experience to make sense of these animals at the beach. In this way, at Laniākea Beach, sea turtles are a central *stance object* (Du Bois, 2007) in volunteer-tourist interaction. The data is organized into four sections. In section 6.4.1, I first begin by examining how affective and epistemic stances are deployed in my interactions with Japanese and L2 English speaking tourists while I am volunteering at the beach. In these brief encounters, we mobilize a range of discursive and material resources to establish momentary *epistemic* and *affective communities* around sea turtles. These communities may last a few seconds, a few minutes or longer, but long enough for us to collaborate in teaching and learning

about these animals, and to achieve some degree of shared perspective on these creatures. Next, in excerpt 6.4.2, I examine how volunteers and tourists do not simply take stances towards sea turtles, they also attribute subjective stances to them in the form of anthropomorphic discourse. Through attributing human-like stances to sea turtles, people assemblage a range of connections to emotion, knowledge, materials, events and places to portray sea turtles as agentive participants at the beach. In sections 6.4.3 and 6.4.4, I then move on to analyze how these momentary epistemic and affective communities of human-sea turtle relations are mobilized to invoke more enduring intercultural identities and communities. Here, drawing on interviews with volunteers and members of the wider sea turtle community, I examine how people enlist sea turtles as multifaceted stance objects around which human and nonhuman identity boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are produced, negotiated and contested.

In addition, in sections 6.4.3 and 6.4.4, I argue that fleeting stances towards sea turtles build up into more enduring insider/outsider communities between volunteers and tourists, Locals and non-Locals. But my aim is not to trace how the same stances accreted within the same speaker, or even among the same participants over time (Rauniomaa 2003). As Damari (2013) argues, "it is of course impossible to know how many times the constructed stance was actually taken and whether, in fact, the stance is reconstructed accurately…the important question is not the accuracy of the constructed words or stance; *it is the purpose served by the reconstruction itself*" (616, emphasis mine). From this analytic perspective, I chart how stances were mobilzed contingently at different moments over the course of my research.[39]

6.4.1 Assembling the identity of sea turtles through stance-taking

[39] Ren (2011), for example, describes this distinction between maps and charts in actor-network theory in tracing how local/tourist identities and tourism destinations co-constituted one another through social activity around a key matter of concern at the destination - the oscypek cheese: "The descriptions to follow are not to be seen as maps seeking to document or represent a stable, unchanging reality. They cannot be used to identify, or even less retrace, the trails which where walked in their compilation. Rather, they must be seen as charts tentatively sketching fluid networks, outlining ongoing events and recollecting stories and seeking to convey not one, but many versions of object realities" (p. 866).

At Laniākea Beach, people often do not just watch sea turtles alone, but try to make sense of their encounter with these creatures *together* with other people. Volunteers and tourists can be seen to share their experiences with one another through their public display of knowing and feeling about sea turtles expressed through their evaluative stances of sea turtles. Through stancetaking, they invoke an array of emotions like excitement, protective adoration, surprise and awe, as well as draw on personal stores of local and tourist knowledge in asserting or puzzling about what kinds of beings sea turtles are, or might be. Rather than being unproblematic and mutually shared objects of knowledge to everyone who watches them, sea turtles are uncertain and multifaceted *stance objects* (Du Bois, 2007), whose identity only coheres over the course of interaction as a composite of multiple points of view. In this way, stance-taking offers an important discursive resource for participants to compose sea turtles as knowable entities in the world. To illustrate this, consider how the identity of one sea turtle emerges in the excerpt below. Here, a sea turtle is basking on the beach in front of me and a group of several Japanese tourists. The sea turtle had been basking at this beach since yesterday at 10 o'clock, something I thought was strange at this early stage in my volunteering experience, but later learned from other volunteers was not too out of the ordinary. The excerpt begins as I hand a Japanese language brochure to a Japanese tourist, with the Hawaiian word for sea turtle, *honu*, written on the front cover: ホヌ. The tourist then asks me in Japanese what 'honu' means:

Excerpt 6.1 What does 'honu' mean? ((honutte?))

1	Tou 1	Honu, honutte?	Honu, what does honu mean?
2	Gavin	Honu Hawaii-go desu ne	Honu is Hawaiian language
3	Tou 1	Kame?	Turtle?
4	Gavin	Umigame to iu imi desu	It means sea turtle
5	Tou 1	Ehhh?	Really?
6	Tou 2	Kino no jūji kara irun da!	[It's] been here since yesterday at 10!
7	Gavin	So	Yes
8	Tou 1	Ippiki?	One [turtle]?
9	Gavin	Chotto mezurashi.	A little rare
10	Tou 1	Ah nagakuiru kara	Oh, because it's been here for a while
11	Gavin	So desu ne, futsu wa ni jikan yojikan gurai	Yes, usually, 2 hours, 4 hours
12		irun desu kedo	[it] is here
13	Tou 1	.hhh daijobu?	[is it] okay?
14	Gavin	Daijobu da to omoun desu kedo (4.0)	I think it's okay (4.0) but, tomorrow
15		demo, ashita mada iru to chotto byoki	if [it's] still here it might be a little sick
16	Tou 1	Ehhhh	Ehhh
17	Gavin	Da to omoun desu kedo chotto	I think a little

18 Tou 1 Guai warui no [it's] not feeling well

Here, in composing the identity of this sea turtle, we draw on the unique epistemic and affective resources for calibrating public displays of knowledge and emotion made available to us by Japanese. This can be seen in the subtle clustering of Japanese epistemic markers strewn across our turns such as evidential particles showing degrees of shared knowledge (*ne, no*), as well as connective/pragmatic particles (*-kedo*) used to express uncertainty and/or hold the floor. For instance, in line 18, Tou 1 ends the excerpt with a statement attributing an affective stance to the sea turtle's well-being, appending the utterance-final particle *no* (*guai warui no*). In this case, the particle *no* serves to establish that an understanding of this sea turtle as (possibly) sick has become group knowledge (Cook, 1990). As Cook (2011) argues, "Japanese is highly sensitive to the shared domain of knowledge and the domain of authority of knowledge" (p. 302). Here, actions like questions and answers, epistemic markers in Japanese, and affective assessments and interjections (*ehhh!*) all serve to slowly build up our mutual attunement[40] to the identity of the creature in front of us. In considering this excerpt, my and the tourists' shared understanding of what kind of being this sea turtles is does not arrive all at once, but builds up its identity across the successive stances we take over the course of our brief conversation. Du Bois (2007) refers this aspect of stance-taking as *dialogic resonance*, noting how a succession of *stance leads* ('I love sea turtles!') and *stance follows* ('me too!'). People take up new stances, and respond to prior ones in weaving together their intersubjectivity with a shared stance object.

But stances do not just serve as an important glue for weaving the temporal fabric of an on-going conversation about sea turtles together. They also serve as crucial resources for weaving people's attention together with the material objects and landscape that surround them.

[40] Nexus analysis embraces a posthumanist conception of *tuning in* rather than *aligning with* the world, as attunement is argued to offer a more nuanced metaphor for the kinds of bindings, investments and attachments people make with semiotic and material world. This is because attunement, in contrast to alignment, "brings an avowedly posthumanist slant to the discussion, urging us to attune not just to the alterity of our interlocutors but also to the world of animals, objects and places" (Pennycook 2017, p. 106) From this perspective, "attunement brings a focus on 'new ways of collaborating with, listening to, and granting authority to new kinds of voices, including more-than-human life and forms of material agency' (Brigstocke and Noorani, 2016, pp. 1– 2, cited in Pennycook, 2017, p. 106). In sum, stance-taking, as a communicative mode of attunement to the world, offers an important unit of analysis for discourse analysts interested in examining how people 'glue together' human-animal nexus of practice (e.g. assemblage), enabling them to cohere into more enduring relational identities and communities over time.

In other words, stance does not only enable people to construct the identity of an object across turns at talk, but also across their material surroundings as well (cf. Hutchins, 1995). This is achieved in part through the stances people take towards various related objects in their immediate environment. To illustrate this role of materiality in more detail, consider the excerpt below. Here, I am describing to a Japanese tourist the process of identifying a particular sea turtle that has just emerged from the water and is now basking on the beach in front of us. I accomplish this by directing the tourist's attention to images in a sea turtle ID book I am holding:

Excerpt 6.2 Wooly Booly

1	Gav	*Dore no umigame da ka shirabetemimasu*	I am looking up which sea turtle it is
2		((pointing to image of sea turtle in ID	
3		book))	
4	Tou 1	*Ah sou ka sou ka namae ga*	Oh I see, I see they [have] names
5	Gav	*Namae ga irun, arun desu kedo*	They are- have names but
6	Tou	*Eh doko de miwakeru?*	Really, where do you identify it from?
7	Gav	The face	The face
8	Tou 2	Face?	Face?
9	Gav	[Yeah so you look at the scales	Yeah so you look at the scales
10		[((tracing out scales in the ID book))	
12	Tou 1	Ehhh?	Ehhh? ((really?))
13	Gav	So I think this is Wooly Booly.	So I think this is Wooly Booly

If we ask what Wooly Booly is as an object of knowing and feeling in the excerpt above, it is not a pre-given or obvious entity, but becomes knowable only through a composite of points of view built up through my shifting alignments with different Japanese and English-speaking participants, and our shifting joint attention to different stance objects: images in the ID book, naming practices, sea turtle faces and scales, and a living, breathing sea turtle in front of us, to name a few. My statement in Japanese in line 1, for example, comes as I'm squatting a few feet away from a large sea turtle, carrying out my honu volunteer duties to identify basking sea turtles, and tracing my finger across several images of Woolly Booly, images which seem to match the appearance of the turtle sleeping in front of me. After I explain what I'm doing in Japanese, the tourist's exclamation of '*ah sou ka, sou ka, namae ga*!" ((oh I see, I see, [they have] names)) expresses an epistemic stance of her new knowledge gained about sea turtle naming practices, but this only emerges in relation to the ID book I'm showing her. At the same time, the intonational contours of her utterance simultaneously reveal a sentiment of astonishment or surprise (affect) at discovering that the sea turtles at this beach actually have

names. My codeswitch to English with “The face” in line 6 comes as I also direct this explanation to the non-Japanese speaking tourists that are crowding around me, peering over my shoulder. As I say, ‘you look at the scales,’ in line 8, I am pointing to a large image of Wooly Booly’s face in the sea turtle ID book, tracing the outline of the main scale-patterns under his eye that differentiate this turtle from other very similar looking sea turtles that are easy to confuse, especially for relatively new volunteers like me. In tracing how stances bring objects, bodies and place into co-relationships, we can see how people’s expression of knowledge and emotion through stance-taking are not isolated expressions of internal states of mind but are better understood as forms of distributed knowing and feeling.

As the above excerpts aim to show, epistemic and affective stances provide an important sociomaterial adhesive for holding sequences of actions together with the material world, in composing the identity of some multifaceted object of focus, in this case, sea turtles. But watching and making sense of sea turtles does not just involve composing relations among immediately preceding talk, and the visual world at reach and in sight. As the question of local knowledge suggests, when people watch sea turtles, they also draw on vast stores of knowledge from beyond the here and now. This suggests that stances do not just adhere the immediate semiotic and material world together, but enlist the help of ideas, memories, entities, and conversations that come from more distant times and places. To illustrate this, consider the excerpt below. To illustrate this, consider the excerpt below. Here, I am volunteering at the beach answering questions about sea turtles posed to me by a Korean tourist visiting Laniākea Beach with his family for the first time. Hiwahiwa, an adult female sea turtle, is currently the only turtle basking on the beach at the moment:

Excerpt 6.3 Epistemic Stance - How many turtle in here normally?

1 Tou: How many (.8) turtle (.) in here (.) normally?
2 (1.0)
2 Gav: Um::: well there’s um (.) 22 turtles that come to this beach
3 Tou: Oh
4 Gav: but, each day, maybe, depends maybe one (1.0) the most we’ve ever had is nine (.) at the
5 same time, uh so yeah just depends on the [day.
6 Tou: [hehehe yeah
7 Gav: so today just one.

When tourists first approach volunteers to ask a range of questions about sea turtles, this reveals how tourists presuppose volunteers' expert knowledge about sea turtles at this beach. Here for example, in line 1, the tourist asks me how many sea turtles come to this beach 'normally,' inferring that I, as a volunteer, hold a form of knowledge derived from a personal history of experience with sea turtles at this beach. My responses in lines 2, and 4-7 show a fair amount of hedging ("Um, well, maybe, just depends,"). But at the same time, the specificity of my answers, such as referencing specific numbers of sea turtles ('22,' 'nine,'), referring to past events ('the most we've ever had,') and other linguistic features such as my use of the pronoun 'we' in this utterance, tying my individual knowledge about sea turtles to group-knowledge, all cluster together to construct my identity as a knowledgeable volunteer. Simultaneously, through the tourist's initial question, as well as through his subsequent display of new knowledge gained ("oh"), he positions himself as having less *epistemic access* (Goodwin, 1979; Stivers, Mondada & Steensig, 2011), and therefore less *epistemic authority* (Heritage & Raymond, 2005) to make claims about sea turtles at this beach. Shifting from epistemic to affective stance now, consider the next abstract below involving the same interaction as above. Here, the tourist takes a stance of disappointment about there being only *one* sea turtle on the beach:

Excerpt 6.4 Affective stance - Disappointed

1	Gav	do you guys have other questions?=
2	Tou	oh okay that's all
3	Gav	okay
4	Tou	thank you
5	Gav	where you visiting from?
6	Tou	Uh Korea
7	Gav	Oh okay, this is your first time here?
8	Tou	Yeah [so
9	Gav	[Okay so how did you hear about this beach?
10	Tou	Uh good but I imagine very big beaches so a lot of turtle in here
11		but=
12	Gav	=yeah
13	Tou	When I come here, just one turtle it[s
14	Gav	[Yeah ((laughter))
15	Tou	So I'm little bit discou- disappeared-
16	Gav	Oh disappointed yeah=
17	Tou	=Oh dissapoint
18	Gav	yeah yeah, it's you know (1.0) it really depends

This excerpt highlights how people with different knowledge backgrounds about a particular entity in the world – in this case volunteers and tourists taking stances about sea turtles – rarely come to the encounter with a robustly shared notion of what this object is. For example, it seems that to help us compose what sea turtles are as a matter of concern in this encounter, I and this tourist enlist the help of rather different sets of entities, events and processes to make sense of our experience of (the lack of) sea turtles at the beach. In extract 2 in lines 4-5 and then again in line 18 in the extract above, I enlist the help of my past embodied experiences at this beach to portray sea turtles as rather fickle creatures – "just depends on the day," "it really depends" – enlisting my epistemic primacy of these creatures habits as a way to empathize – through my consoling laughter in line 14 – and affiliate – through my multiple 'yeahs' showing my solidarity – with the tourist's disappointment, accounting for this event as beyond our control.

At the same time, the Korean tourist's disappointment (lines 15-17) emerges from expectations cultivated in his past encounters with a mediatized public discourse about this beach as a place with 'a lot of turtle.' These expectations, then till the soil for a disappointed-laden tourist gaze to recurrinlgy texture tourists' experiences of Laniākea Beach. Indeed, in my experience, I found it surprising how common it was for tourists from a range of linguistic backgrounds to express disappointment at finding only one or two sea turtles basking on the beach. In sum, divergent epistemics of personal knowledge, obligations to know, and expectations converge with divergent affects of desire, trouble, and concern about sea turtles as these "two great moral systems grind into one another" (Heritage 2011, p. 183). When our divergent systems collide, however, they do not derail our conversation, but reattune our senses to the landscape, sea turtles and each other in a syncretic and dialogic process.

6.4.2 Anthropomorphic discourse as 'nonhuman other stance attribution'

Another way that volunteers and tourists compose the identity of sea turtles is not just through taking up stances towards sea turtles, but by directly attributing stances to them. In considering how stance attributions are a discursive resource for sticking particular human-like ways of seeing, knowing and feeling to sea turtles – as beings that know and feel in the world

like we do – the analysis stancetaking offers an important window into anthropomorphic discourse. Research in interactional sociolinguistics has explored anthropomorphic discourse in human interaction with domestic animals, especially dogs, by examining how people frame animals as thinking, feeling beings as a means to carry out strategic communicative goals with other people such as in family talk (Tannen. 2004) or veterinary diagnostic talk (Stivers, 1998) (see Chapter 1). However, there is much less research on anthropomorphic discourse directed towards wild animals like sea turtles (but see Candea, 2010).

An extensive and growing body of research on stance in sociolinguistics has shown how self-stance attribution is not just a routine discursive practice across cultures, but perhaps the primary unit in discourse available to interlocutors for constructing a psychologically and socially defined self-identity in the world (Englebretson, 2007; Jaffe, 2009). However, Coupland and Coupland (2009) argue that "other stance attribution—the attributing of stances to others—is not so routine, and has been less frequently studied in the literature" (p. 227). A main reason for this, they argue is a pervasive preference among interlocutors in social interaction to avoid constructing stances for others, suggesting that 'speaking for' others is a face-threatening act and a fundamental characteristic of conflict talk. "At the same time," they argue, "levels of presumed entitlement to "speak for" another vary across social situations, and not least across institutional settings" (ibid).[1] In the overlapping institutional settings of sea turtle conservation and tourism, 'speaking for' others, and in particular nonhuman others like sea turtles by attributing affective and epistemic stances to them through reported speech, ('he's confused' or 'she's feisty') was very much a commonplace discursive practice among tourists and volunteers.[41]

[41] Anthropomorphic discourse, as an extension of an anthropocentricism connected with Enlightenment notions of human exceptionalism, has been extensively criticized in the field of human-animal studies, and more specifically in ecolinguistic studies of English discourse about animals (Mühlhäusler 2003; Stibbe 2012). As Heuberger (2018) argues, in his recent review of anthropocentric discourse in English about animals and nature, "animals and plants are said to 'love,' 'hate,' 'despise,' 'regret,' etc. Their feelings are, however, essentially human feelings, i.e., they mimic humans or are merely prosthetic extensions of humans" (p. 347). What this means is that many scholars, environmentalists and scientists are critical of anthropomorphic discourse that derives its logic from anthropocentrism, which extends human thoughts and feelings to animals indiscriminately. In my conversations with George Balazs, for example, he expressed aversion to giving sea turtles human-like names as anthropomorphizing them, telling me that "well if the dang thing dies then you're almost gonna have a funeral which has happened!" While this is just the view of one sea turtle scientist, research suggests that scientists tend to embrace a view that "Anthropomorphism has become '*an epistemological vice*, a symptom of knowing animals

To illustrate this, consider the excerpt below involving a brief conversation I had with a Japanese tour guide named Taka while volunteering at the beach. Taka was leading a group of Japanese tourists pointing and commenting on the sea turtles at the beach with excitement: "*Anonine are! ugoiteru, ugoiteru! ((laughter)). shashin!"* ((Over there! it's moving, it's moving! hahaha, picture!)).

Excerpt 6.5 "it's scary"

1	Taka:	I always bring the customers over here and the customers swim with the turtle
2	Gavin:	Right on thank you
3	Taka:	yeah
4	Gavin:	Appreciate it yeah, this one's been kinda cruising around all day, but when it
5		sees a big wall of people
6	Taka:	Uh-huh it's scared
7	Gavin:	It is? ((laughter))
8	Taka	If I am the turtle I don't wanna come up to the shore ((shifts
9		attention to tourists along the shoreline)) yeah, watch out watch out,
10		((yelling)) watch out! in front of you, watch out, behind you right
11		there in front of you!

Both Taka and I attune to the same interactional problem in lines 4-6: tourists often form 'a big wall' along the shoreline in order to catch a glimpse of swimming sea turtles, but this barrier-like formation of human bodies can prevent sea turtles from being able to crawl onto the sand to rest (see figure 1 below). While I indicate this type of human-sea turtle interaction is problematic for the turtle (lines 4-5), Taka explicitly attributes the emotion of fear to the sea turlte: "it's scared." My laughter and questioning of this in line 6 indicates some perplexity to Taka's assessment of the situation as scary. But Taka elaborates: he suggests that the interaction is 'scary' not from his perspective, but from the sea turtle's: "If I am the turtle I don't wanna come up to the shore" (line 8). He then continues shouting warnings in English to the international tourists on the beach, as if with the confidence of an experienced honu guardian.

mistakenly' (p. 348, cited from Simmons and Armstrong and quoted Vardis, 2015, p. 215, emphasis added).

Figure 6.2 "The wall"

This brief vignette serves to illustrate how Taka in the role of a tour guide expresses different emotions and understandings of people's interactions with sea turtles by taking the point of view of the sea turtle. While the section above brought attention to the *distributed identity* of sea turtles, composed through the relational ordering of sequences of action, objects, bodies and place, here, what I refer to as *attributed identity* involves taking stances towards these assemblages from the point of view of sea turtles themselves, such as when Taka describes the sea turtle as feeling 'scared' of the wall of people forming along the nearshore. Not just taking stances towards sea turtles, but attributing stances to them was a common discursive practice among volunteers and tourists and one that I quite easily found myself participating in as well. Furthermore, as the above excerpt illustrates, anthropomorphic discourse does not just help to compose the identity of sea turtles as particular kinds of beings, but frames are own and others' ethical attunement to these creatures as well.

Consider how anthropomorphic discourse is deployed in the excerpt below for example, in an interaction involving a volunteer at the beach describing the behavior sea turtles to an American tourist, as I stand nearby.

Excerpt 6.6 “it just bites, just for fun”

1	Vol 1	Even a sixty year old turtle is just feisty, it just bites, just for fun,
2		Mana (pronounced /mæna/ with American English phonetic realization rather than
3		Hawaiian /məna/)
4	Gav	uh-huh
5	Vol 1	She just bites people and other turtles like when they’re in the water
6	Gav	yeah, okay
7	Vol 1	like she had Isabelle so terrified that she went into her like defensive like don't bother me
8		pose one time and the volunteer thought she was dead

In narrating an event that unfolded between two sea turtles that frequent Laniākea Beach, Mana and Isabelle, this volunteer attributes a variety of affective stances to them: “just feisty,” “it just bites, just for fun,” “she had Isabelle so terrified,” and so on. First, Mana is currently basking on the beach as this interaction unfolds, but the volunteer invokes another participant, the sea turtle Isabelle, emplotting them together as human-like characters in a dramatic storyline. Tourists, as shown in the first excerpt as well, often show surprise and intrigue with this anthropomorphic discourse. In this sense, attributions of this anthropomorphic discourse also position the volunteer as having a degree of expert familiarity with individual sea turtles. While attributing stances to sea turtles indirectly indexed their likeness with humans, sometimes the notion that sea turtles are like humans was made explicit. This explicit attribution of ‘being like humans’ at the beach was common over the course of ethnographic research, as in the example below. Here a volunteer, Liz, is explaining that the Hawaiian green sea turtle’s behavior to come up on the beach just to bask (and not to lay eggs) is a unique behavior among sea turtle species in the world:

Excerpt 6.7 "Humans do the same thing"

Turn	Actor	Verbal resources	Embodied and material resources	Moment
1	Liz	As I said, the other six species of	((a large female sea turtle named Hiwahiwa is	
2		sea turtles that exist in the world	basking about 3 meters away from Liz and tourist	
3		do not do this, the only time they	1))	
4		will {volitionally}	Liz uses both hands to paint a vector illustrating	Moment 1
5		come out is to lay their eggs on	how sea turtles 'volitionally' come out' of the	
6		the beach	water to lay eggs	
7				
8	Tourist ?	(inaudible)		
9				
10	Tourist 2	But mom if that [( )		
11			Tourist 1 turns posture towards Liz to talk while	
12	Tourist 1	[hu- humans do	Liz remains focused on the sea turtle and puts	
13		{the same thing}, we come to the	hands up to face while listening	Moment 2
14		Hawaiian islands to lay on the		
15		beach		
16				
17	Liz	that's {<u>right</u>}	Liz makes exaggerated top-to bottom gesture	Moment 3
18			with both arms in emphatic agreement,	
19	Tourist 1	Am I right? ((laughter))	simultaneously looks to tourist 1	
20				
21	Liz	It's like what do I have in common	Liz uses both arms to emphasize her utterance in	
22		with a {sea turtle} right?	line 21 and provides further metacommentary in	Moment 4
23			a playful and rhythmic fashion bobbing her head	
24			back and forth slightly.	
25	Hiwahiwa		Hiwahiwa, the sea turtle, basks nearby	Moment 5

Figure 6.3 Humans do the same thing

In lines 12-15, the tourist equates the sea turtle's behavior of lying on the on beach, with the tourist practice of vacationing in Hawai'i to lie on the beach. The volunteer's affective stance towards this asserting in line 17 (moment 3) does not just affiliate with this characterization of human-turtle similarity, but is approvingly emphatic, to which the tourist laughingly asks the

rhetorical question "am I right?" This fleeting moment of interactional stancetaking in lines 17-19 between this volunteer and tourist show increasing emotive involvement and mutual attunement to the humans-are-like-sea turtles stance object the tourist invoked in line 12. The tight structural parallelism of stances in lines 17 and 19 is also a good example of dialogic resonance (Du Bois, 2007), where participants reveal a close attunement to one other's attributed and claimed identities, as well as affective and epistemic stances that reverberate across turns to produce an accreted continuity of emotion and knowledge towards some entity in the world.[42] Here, both the volunteer and the tourist construct their identity of leisure-seeking visitors to Hawai'i's beaches through comparing the sea turtle to humans ("humans do the same thing…"). This excerpt is also a good example of the *playful performance of contact* (Jaworski & Thurlow, p. 256) in tourism settings where people compose their own and each other's identities through blending fragments of the semiotic landscape, along with bits and pieces of each other's person (Candea, 2010). But in wildlife tourism settings like Laniākea Beach, fragments of sea turtle identity enlisted through stance attributions become important resources for bricolaging an identity of contact too.

Furthermore, this exchange suggests that the anthropomorphic discourse common at Laniākea Beach may in fact be more akin to what Kay Milton (2005) describes as *egomorphism*, which "implies that I understand my cat, or a humpback whale, or my human friends, on the basis of my perception that they are 'like me' rather than 'humanlike'" (p. 259). Moments 2 and 4 in particular, suggest to me that volunteers' and tourists' attribution of stances to sea turtles mobilized an array of affective and epistemic qualities that blend egomorphic like-me-ness ('what do I have in common with a sea turtle') with anthropomorphic like-humanness ('humans do the same thing'). This blending of morphisms raises questions about the blanket criticisms sometimes leveled at laypersons' anthropomorphic discourse towards animals. Analyzing stance-taking towards animals reveals that anthropomorphic discourse is not just about subsuming

[42] This spontaneous and playful exchange is also indicative of a much broader discursive resonance emblematic of tourist-host *performances of contact*, where "[t]ourism demands a ritualized familiarity or recognizablity…" that "while being specifically situated and locally meaningful, also has a transposable, *generic* significance, which plays out more generally…this is how we know that we are doing tourism and being tourists (or hosts)" (Thurlow and Jaworski 2010, p. 277).

animals into a world of *human* social values, but about attuning to how animals experience their world as more or less like me.

As these excerpts shows, watching sea turtles involves seeing them in relation to an assemblage of unfolding talk, bodies, objects, practices and places, but watching them can also involve watching the world through their own eyes. For volunteers and tourists, seeing the landscape and the human geography of Laniākea Beach also involved experimental forays into imagining how a sea turtle might see and experience this place too. In my ethnographic research at Laniākea Beach, *speaking for* sea turtles through stance-taking, as seen in the empirical interactional data above, was a pervasive practice among both volunteers and tourists, involving the mobilization of a dynamic semiotic and material tapestry of interwoven resources. The multimodal transcript above aims to bring more fully into view how stance-taking is not simply a language activity, but derives much of its meaning from its embodiment and emplacement in the physical beachscape and the sea turtles basking a few feet away.

6.4.3 How human-sea turtle identities co-constitute one another

So far, I have examined the question of how the identity of sea turtles is put together through stancetaking. In this section, I examine how sea turtles are enlisted by volunteers in my interviews with them to compose identity distinctions between themselves and human others. Foregrounding sea turtles as a site of identity production helps to shed light on how interculturality is an effect of people's complex and personal imbrication with different semiotic and material aspects of sea turtles. From here we can now ask how various configurations of sea turtle identity are enlisted to put together certain social identities at the beach. To illustrate what I mean by this, consider the excerpt below where a White, female American volunteer told me a story about her frustrating encounter with a "Japanese lady" trying to touch a sea turtle:

Excerpt 6.8: "You can tell when a Japanese person speaks English"

14 Vol: like this was a day where I don't remember if it was just me or it was her,
15 but she kept trying to touch the turtle and she kept trying to touch the turtle
16 and I know the Asian |culture is that it's |lucky to touch one but
17 |goddammit
18 |((hands |clapping |together))
19 Um (1.0) you know like I tried in Japanese to tell her to knock it off (1.2) like,
20 I had already explained to her like that she can't touch it it's against the
21 law (.5) she's in the United States here you need to respect our laws like I
22 would respect mine when I go to your country you need to respect ours, like
23 really nicely, she pretended not to speak English but I knew she did, I knew
24 she did.
25 Gav: How
26 Vol: You can tell
27 Gav: Oh okay
28 Vol: You can tell when a Japanese person speaks English

Here, the volunteer narrates a problematic interaction with a Japanese tourist, foregrounding the actions she takes to prevent this tourist from touching a sea turtle. As a starting point, consider how the identity of the sea turtle is composed in this excerpt. In line 15, the sea turtle is a passive object being touched, and in line 16 she continues with an account that in 'Asian culture' sea turtles transmit luck through tactile contact. In lines 19-20, she then adds that sea turtles are protected under U.S. law. Through the stances she takes in sequencing this string of sea turtle *identity elements* (Norris 2011), the volunteer opens a window into her thinking and feeling at the time of this conflictive interaction, giving me access to her epistemic certainty and frustrated emotional involvement in the incident: "She kept trying…," "goddammit!," "I know the Asian culture…," "it's against the law…" But it is not as if the volunteer first builds up each of the human and nonhuman participants in her story one at time, and then once built, sets them into action with one another to animate her story. Instead, what kind of creature this sea turtle emerges as takes shape in concert with her own and the tourist's conflicting stances towards this creature. In this way, knowledge and feelings about sea turtles, and conflictive intercultural identities co-construct one another at simultaneously. Such retrospective accounts in my interviews with volunteers highlight how stancetaking towards human and nonhuman participants in the *storied world* (see figure 6.4 below) involve attention to the ways "an utterance has implicit links to many dialogues, not only the present one, which

together inform its significance, influence its form, and contribute to its performative force" (Irvine 1996, p. 140).

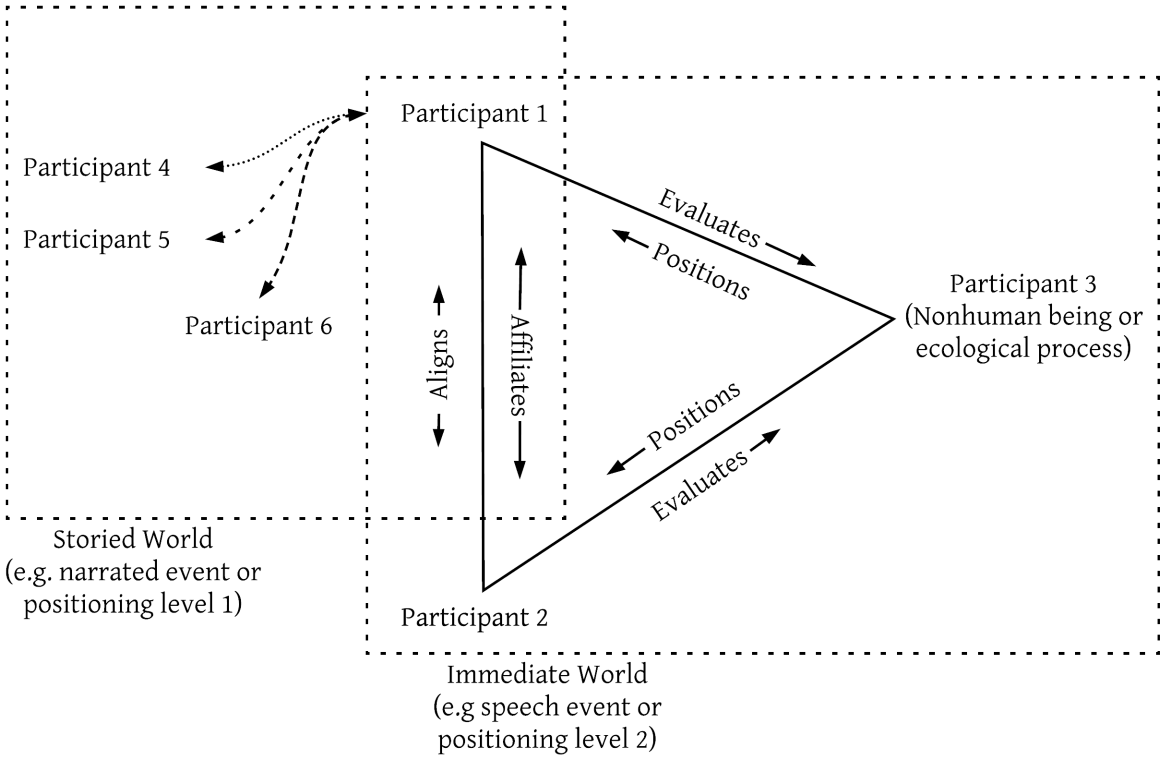


Figure 6.4 The stance triangle elaborated[43]

But it is also important to recognize how this narrated event is enacted in the 'telling world' of the here and now during our interview together (Georgakopolou, 2008). In other words, the important point about analyzing such a narrative is not just to provide an example of how a volunteer talked about a sea turtle to me once, or how the sea turtle constructed in this narrative was transformed in relation to other narratives I was told about conflictive volunteer-tourist encounters. Rather, the point in analyzing such narratives about nonhuman entitles and

[43] How the participants contributing to a stance are distributed across the Immediate world (the here and now) and the storied world (the there and then). This dialogic perspective on the stance triangle illustrates how stancetaking links moments of action to a more far-flung field of activity. Or, as Irvine (1996) puts it, "[a] communicative act has a relation to other acts, including the past, the future, the hypothetical, the conspicuously avoided, and so on, and these relations – intersecting frames, if you will – inform the participation structure of the moment" (p. 135).

beings in the world is to "capture such transformations of what appears to be the same object, explain how such transformations are possible, and *describe their consequences* (Czarniawska, 2008, pp. 51-2, emphasis added). For example, not only are the tourist's actions framed for me as transgressive of a communal epistemic responsibility to not touch sea turtles. The tourist's rupturing of this responsibility is framed not as an accident but as a purposeful act of deception: "she pretended not to speak English but I knew she did!" All of these past thoughts, feelings and actions are then deployed in the interactional plane of the here and now of this interview with me to portray the volunteer's own thoughts, feelings and actions with this Japanese tourist in a positive light. This echoes Ochs and Capps (2001) argument that, in recounting their actions in narrative, "tellers strive to present themselves as decent, ethical persons who pursue the moral high road in contrast to certain other protagonists in their narratives" (p. 284).

To provide a further instance of how identities of cultural difference are produced through stance-taking towards sea turtles, in this excerpt below, I am interviewing two volunteers about a range of personal experiences at Laniākea Beach. Here, 'Vol 1' can be seen to invoke an array of evaluations, positionings and alignments with various participants both in the immediate interaction, and in the storied world, that are categorized as belonging to a range of cultural groups over the course of this brief excerpt.

Excerpt 6.9 "as an American I'm just like, that's cool it's a wild turtle"

1	Vol 1:	I think it's cultural
2	Gav:	Yeah?
3	Vol 1:	Very much so I think when you run into a like uh someone that's been on the island for a
4		long time
5	Vol 2:	It's their 'āina and
6	Vol 1:	They know how, they know how to take care of their island and their nature
7	Vol 2:	they don't like it when people are telling them not to
8	Vol 1:	right
9	Gav:	yeah
10	Vol 1:	they they've been here longer and I understand that I had a conversation very recently,
11		and then if you 10 look at the history of the islands you know, our military kind of took
12		over and then they're all of a sudden a state and they didn't get to pick to be a state,
13		necessarily the natives didn't and so I get we're it feels like we're intruding and then
14		we're telling them how to live and we're telling them how to do their, their life and their
15		culture so I get that, but I also see cultures on this beach, from all over the world and
16		how they address us and how they address the turtles (.) very different
17	Gav:	really

18 Vol 1: very different
19 Gav: like
21 Vol 1: well you know some countries it's acceptable to still kill the turtle and things like that so
22 you know why can't I get up close to it and other times it's a spiritual thing and Japanese
23 and Chinese and, you would know this more than I it's, it's a like a spirit animal so that's
24 much- it's a religious experience to see that
25 Gav: yeah
26 Vol 1: where me as an American I'm just like, that's cool it's a wild turtle you know I don't have
27 those connect[-
28 Vol 2: [coming on the beach!
29 Gav: Yeah
30 Vol 1 I don't have those cultural connections as a Hawaiian or someone who treats it as a
31 spiritual animal or something like that

Volunteer 1 begins by framing her ensuing talk as subsumed by an overarching category of 'cultural' differences, which she illustrates in particular through an implicit contrast of honu guardian identity to 'someone that's been on the island for a long time' In line 5, Volunteer 2 elaborates on Volunteer 1's utterance underway with "it's their 'Āina," specifying this 'someone' as connected to a perceived Hawaiian epistemology of place that implies a greater rights to place than volunteers who are almost entirely non-Local, short-term residents in Hawai'i. Volunteer 1 affiliates and elaborates on this stance lead with a series of stance attributions to this "they" which indirectly indexes a 'Local' or 'Native Hawaiian' place-based identity.

In lines 10-16, Volunteer 1 describes a "conversation I had very recently," framing her ensuing talk as, if not indirect reported speech, at least a perspective incited by this interaction with a somewhat ambiguous Local/Native Hawaiian participant. Through this participant alignment in her narrative with this Local person, Volunteer 1 then constructs an affiliative stance with a more expansive 'they' that negatively evaluates volunteer protective practices with sea turtles on the beach. Her affiliative positioning with this culturally other "they" emerges from the resonance of stances constructed across a web of intersecting discourses involving Hawai'i's illegal annexation and military occupation by the U.S., enforced statehood, and a framing of volunteer practices as a perceived extension of this colonial 'intrusion.'

She then goes on to position honu guardians in relation to other "cultures on this beach from all over the world," with explicit reference to Chinese and Japanese culture. Here, the

intercultural positioning between volunteers and these other "cultures" is achieved through attributing different stances towards turtles to these groups. As also shown in excerpt 6.9 above, volunteers circulated a discourse within the organization that 'Asian cultures' view sea turtles as spiritual creatures, which often entailed 'category-bound activities' such as touching them for luck, or otherwise interacting with sea turtles through physical contact in ways anathema to volunteers' protective efforts at the beach. Through the layering of these multiple participation frames of cultural others on the storied world being constructed, Volunteer 1 categorizes herself, and by extension other volunteers as "American." She entails an absence of cultural significance of sea turtles that is present in these other groups, positioning Americans as 'just' enthralled by the wildness of sea turtles, "I'm just like, that's cool it's a wild turtle." The stance-marker 'just' seems to be doing some important intercultural work here: it serves to ground her American appreciation for wild nature as almost *a-cultural*, where American enjoyment of wilderness lacks the ideological baggage that filters Asian, and other cultural perceptions of sea turtles and nature.

This contrastive identity work produced through reported speech and narratives of past events involving conflictive interactions between volunteers and a range of culturally distinct participants is made further explicit in the following excerpt. But here, rather than volunteers distinguishing their identity from tourists, the contrastive identity pair Local/*haole* is invoked. In this excerpt, for example, the volunteer explicitly categorizes herself, and by extension, other volunteers at the beach as *haoles,* a Hawaiian term that invokes a non-Local White identity category:

Excerpt 6.10 you're just a *haole* from the mainland

Vol 1: So you know when we're trying to do this sometimes well who are you to tell me what I can and cannot do, you're just a *haole* from the mainland I think
Vol 2: That's true
Vol 1: Um so
Vol 2: Yeah
Vol 2: So so you know gotta break that barrier and say look it I'm just here I'm not here to impinge on your cultural views I'm just here to (1.) protect this creature, and give it it's best shot at making it

In my interviews and ethnographic observations, the Hawaiian term *haole* was deployed in reported speech by the predominately White, non-Local volunteers at this beach to attribute

negative stances that Locals directed towards them. This excerpt serves to highlight how volunteers' claims of cultural differences that distinguish their attunements to human-sea turtle relations from other beach goers – on the grounds of spiritual, place-based, linguistic, traditional, historically conditioned, or other identities that are perceived to cultivate different affective, epistemic and actional orientations to sea turtles – provides a resource for volunteers to establish and solidify the boundaries of their own and others' stance-taking community around sea turtles. Sea turtles become important entities in the world through which people come to distinguish and clarify the boundaries between divergent epistemic and affective communities that come together around sea turtles.

6.4.4 Sea turtles as matters of concern in the wider community

As we have seen, sea turtles are matters of concern at Laniākea Beach in that they are enlisted as multifaceted resources for enacting self and other identities at the beach. As boundary objects, people use stances to strategically assemble connections among sea turtles, people and an array of semiotic and material elements to bring together multiple and at times conflicting perspectives on these creatures. On the one hand, the plasticity with which stances can construe sea turtle identity as a boundary object "allows these different groups to collaborate, despite their political and epistemological differences" (Lorimer, 2007, p. 925). On the other hand, while sea turtles are sometimes enlisted to render commensurate divergent perspectives in affiliative ways, they also bring together incommensurate points of view, where stances can serve to highlight and shore up the epistemic and affective disaffiliations between individuals and communities. For example, as shown in 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 above, volunteers collaborate with tourists through learning, teaching and anthropomorphizing sea turtles to establish momentary but shared epistemic and affective communities around these animals. But as excerpt 6.4.3 shows, the stances volunteers and tourists take towards sea turtles also serve as an important resource for differentiating a volunteer community, carving out a channel between its own epistemic and affective affiliations and the multiple other incommensurate epistemic communities that sea turtles attract.

To illustrate how the stances volunteers take towards sea turtles can themselves be portrayed as incommensurate, consider how Locals who disaffiliate with the volunteer stance-taking community enlist sea turtles to distinguish their own point of view from volunteers. In addition to tourists and volunteers, I also interviewed members of the local community including individuals who identified as Local and/or Hawaiian and had long-term engagements with sea turtles in Hawai‘i such as through conservation and traditional practices. In the excerpt below, where, I am interviewing an individual who identifies as both Local and Hawaiian about the kinds of protective practices Mālama na Honu engages in. In illustrating her contrasting perspective, she provides a retrospective telling of a conflictive encounter with a park ranger she had around a sea turtle basking on the Big Island:

Excerpt 6.11 ‘oh aloha’

Pam: So I’ll give you an example, um I’m also a fish pond practitioner so we have a yearly gathering of all the fish pond practitioners across the state and two year ago it was on my island so we went to Kaloko-Honokōhau on the Kona side and it’s a national park
Gav: mm-hmm
Pam: but um we were walking through and we came across a turtle that you was just hauled out, sun-bathing and it so we went up to take pictures and you kinda “oh aloha” ((to the turtle)) and then the park ranger was like “you cannot be that close” and I went pshhh whatever ((laughter)), you don't tell me in our own ‘āina you know so there’s a very- and this was a park ranger that comes from the mainland like no:: genealogical ties no:: understanding you’re just in that spot because you have a position there and I think that’s kind of the the main methodology for all of the organizations that tend to separate people um versus build a different kind of relationship

Here, we see how the constructed stance-taking world among the different participants in this moment of interaction – the Hawaiian fish pond practioners, the park ranger, and the sea turtle – allow her not just to explicitly take up their own stances towards sea turtles, such as addressing the sea turtle with ‘oh aloha.’ First, she invokes her rights and authority to be close to the sea turtle that derives from her epistemic primacy as a Local and Hawaiian with deep cultural connections to the land or ‘āina’ (“you don't tell me in our own ‘āina you know”). This initial affectively loaded epistemic stance establishes a distinction between the cultural practioners and the park ranger based on radically divergent rights and responsibilities associated with one’s (dis)connection to the ‘āina. Furthermore, through these explicit stances attributed to the park ranger, the ranger becomes a token of a broader type of community who is ‘coming from the

mainland' and with 'no genealogical ties and no understanding.' This allows Pam to implicitly attribute the contrastive pairs of these membership categories to herself and the fishpond practitioners as people *with* genealogical ties, and *with* understanding. Through this *constructed dialogue* (Tannen, 2007) then, Pam extends this assemblage of stances to the larger network of protection practices that characterizes activist organizations comprised of mostly non-Local (e.g. haole) members like Mālama na Honu that is construed as embracing "the main methodology for all of the organizations that tend to separate people, um, versus build a different kind of relationship."[44]

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that what a focus on stance-taking towards sea turtles brings into view is the range of semiotic and material connections people enlist to help them experience sea turtles in particular ways, and to construe and distinguish their own and others' identities in relation to these creatures in the process. The stance-taking resources I examined were deployed in various interactional orders involving moments of teaching and learning between volunteers and tourists, as well as interviews I carried out, and included Japanese and English semiotic resources, volunteer knowledge and tourist emotions, embodied gestures, images of sea turtles, brochures, the appearance and behavior of sea turtles, sea turtle's own point of view, the landscape of Laniākea Beach and more. To conclude, I will briefly make explicit how a focus on stance-taking towards sea turtles sheds light on how these creatures have become important

[44] The above excerpt also illustrates some of the conflicting stances that are attributed in the relations between Indigenous peoples such as Native Hawaiians and non-Indigenous state actors involved in wildlife protection efforts. Nadasdy (2003), White (2006) and Muehlmann (2012) for example, describe how government-based wildlife conservation efforts inherently restrict what comes to count as Indigenous knowledge viable for conservation through its institutional translation into scientifically viable 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge' (TEK). As Todd (2014) argues, "Indigenous 'Traditional Ecological Knowledge' (TEK) is presumed to be an interchangeable analog for science or ecology, and is deconstructed and massaged to fit into existing scientific-legal discourses employed by the processes of the State" (221). In her study of human-fish relations among the Inuvialuit, for example, she describes the 'multiple ways of knowing fish' or fish pluralities that inform the 'pragmatic, dynamic, and strategic set of tools…to navigate the complexity of contemporary human-fish relationships as they exist across Indigenous and non- Indigenous logics and cosmologies" (p. 226). This perspective resonates with a posthumanist approach to discourse analysis, such as nexus analysis that I take in this dissertation, as it builds on research on intercultural knowledge translation in contact zones, not as sites where different knowledges merely bump into one another like billiard balls, but as heteroglossic spaces productive of new forms of syncretic knowledge, what Kaplan and Kelly (1994) call 'zones of transcursion': "[p]oints where a structure is most intermixed with materials, acts, and voices alien to it" (p. 129)

matters of concern at Laniakea Beach, and what the wider implications of this is for research on human-wildlife relations like those between humans and sea turtle at Laniākea Beach.

First, rather than take pre-determined cultural or ideological groups, such as American volunteers or Japanese tourists, as starting points for analyzing the divergent ways people talk and act around sea turtles, I took an inductive approach that charts the contingent stances people deploy in interaction to incrementally assemble these identities. The construal of intercultural identities around sea turtles emerged through the *stance resonances* produced across a series of stances. But in Du Bois' (2007) formulation of stance resonances, he includes both the connections that are forged "immediately within the current exchange of stance utterances, or more remotely along the horizons of language and prior text as projected by the community of discourse" (Du Bois 2007, p. 140). What this suggests is that while I focused on the forms of interculturality discursively constructed in people's brief moments of interaction as located in the excerpts above, much of the interculturality that could characterize these interactions extends beyond the immediate scene of talk. As Lempert puts it, "[c]ultural presuppositions and interdiscursive dialogicality – virtual, *in absentia* phenomena par excellence – remind us of just how cramped transcripts can be, how they can prematurely delimit the range of perceivable stance effects" (Lempert, 2007, p. 585). For this reason, my use of multimodal transcripts provide one resource for expanding "the range of perceivable stance effects" in a transcript, but I also situated my understanding of *stance effects* analyzed above within the ethnographic methodological approach of nexus analysis to remain attentive to the dialogic connections stances establish to more far-flung participants, materials, times and places.

Second, in considering how sea turtles as taken-for-granted matters of fact at the beach is continually disrupted by divergent points of view that construe them as disputed matters of concern, Latour (2005) makes a helpful distinction between human and nonhuman entities as unpredictable *mediators* as opposed to predictable *intermediators*.[45] For example, for sea turtle scientists, their research efforts strive to transform sea turtles from ecologically unpredictable

[45] Latour (2005) defines these contrasting terms in the following way: "An intermediary, in my vocabulary, is what transports meaning or force without transformation…Mediators transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning or the elements they are supposed to carry (p. 39).

and fickle mediators, into statistically modelled, and reliably predictable intermediaries. The purpose of these efforts is of course to more effectively understand and track them as a means to make sure they continue to exist in the world for a while longer. But volunteers and tourists do something similar to sea turtles too. That is, the attachments they make through stances towards sea turtles involve reducing them from controversial *matters of concern*, to predictable and ethically straightforward *matters of fact*. In this way, stance transforms human-sea turtle interaction from uncertain and disputed relations, like the chaotic Corsican wildfires mentioned in the intro, to taken-for-granted objects that do not improvise from the script they have been given (Hinchliffe, 2007). But people do not just attempt to transform sea turtles into familiar intermediaries or matters of fact; stances reveal how they also do this to people too, reducing people's complex interdiscursive actions and identities into simpler and predictable emblems of membership in cultural ingroups and outgroups. In other words, "we might say that we belong to each others' worlds in more or less complex ways, by more or fewer aspects of our person" (Candea 2008, p. 212).

Finally, while in considering how *nonhuman charisma* (Lorimer, 2007) is mobilized in wildlife conservation and tourism settings (see chapter 4, p. 144), a focus on stance-taking suggests a useful approach to empirically investigate how people enlist charismatic species like sea turtles as a resource for imagining their own and others' identities around these creatures. Charisma, as a relational identity between humans and wildlife, is an important concept to unpack how and why tourists, volunteers and other members of the wider community become compelled to participate in conservation, tourism or other activities involving sea turtles. In addition, charisma further configures the 'ethical sensibilities' (Bennett, 2001) that people come to hold towards sea turtles, as expressed through the various epistemic and affective communities they create around this creature as a matter of concern. For sea turtle conservation, the importance of charisma derives from how it mobilizes particular species as boundary objects around which divergent stance-taking communities might find common ground. Strategically shaping a single form of nonhuman charisma provides a powerful organizing force to bring together divergent epistemic communities around shared communicative goals in relation to sea turtles. But when multiple forms of charisma collide, such as the divergent forms of charisma cultivated among volunteers, tourists and local members of the community, conflict can ensue.

Stance-taking, then, offers an important unit of analysis to examine the *menagerie of charismatics* (Lorimer, 2007) that produce different forms of environmental ethics towards sea turtles.[46]

[46] As Lorimer (2007) argues, "[i]n contrast to the panoptic, normative, and utilitarian ethics of the official discourse of biodiversity conservation which exhorts us to save everything, everywhere, to preserve our life-support system an environmental ethics of nonhuman charisma is relational, ethological, and affective" (p. 928). From this perspective, a focus on stance-taking can shed empirical light on these relation ethical, affective and epistemic identities and communities that people enact around sea turtles.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

> *"At Laniākea Beach on the North Shore of Oahu, tourists park illegally and run across a busy two-lane highway to see basking turtles, thereby creating a turtle traffic bottleneck. Such conflict is on the rise throughout Hawaii as more and more turtles bask on beaches throughout the state and as communities struggle to make sense of their changing landscapes. The frustration deepens further as locals feel increasingly isolated—even abandoned—by the very agencies that are responsible for managing these conflicts."*
>
> *– Kelly & Homcy (2017), State of the World's Sea Turtles (SWOT) Report 12, pp. 38-39*

7.1 Introduction

Throughout the previous chapters, I have examined the circulation of sea turtle tourism and conservation discourse in the interactional practices of tourists and volunteers at Laniākea Beach. I examined the material circuits through which these discourses circulate, including the historical bodies of tourists and volunteers, but also through print and digital media, and the semiotic-material landscape of sea turtle tourism and conservation at the beach. I analyzed how volunteers learn and circulate a discourse genre of sea turtle interpretation, as well as how stancetaking towards sea turtles is a productive site of interculturality at the beach. In this chapter, I briefly summarize the chapters, presenting the key findings and implications of this research for sociolinguistic research on human-wildlife relations. This is followed by a consideration for future research, arguing that research on wildlife tourism and conservation settings is an important area for sociolinguistic and applied linguistic studies.

7.2 Summaries of the chapters and findings

In chapter 1, I introduced the topic of sea turtle tourism and conservation at Laniākea Beach, as well as the research questions guiding the investigation of this topic. I situated this topic and research questions in relation to three theoretical orientations: the sociolinguistics of mobility, the sociolinguistics of human-animal relations as developed in ecolinguistics and interactional studies, and social scientific studies of wildlife tourism and conservation drawing on posthumanist insights to human-environment relations. I then outlined wildlife conservation and tourism as a site of sociolinguistic and applied linguistic research, arguing the emerging theoretical concerns with the body, space, materiality and local/global knowledge where these studies can contribute. I further argued that this the practical implication of this research for developing healthier and more ethical human-wildlife relations stems from how it can shed light on the sociocultural specificity, historical contingency and situated emergence of problematic human-wildlife interactions taking shape around the world.

In chapter 2, I examined the co-transformation of Laniākea Beach into a sea turtle tourism destination and place of sea turtle conservation. I began with a brief history of sea turtle conservation efforts in Hawai‘i, beginning with the work of George Balazs and the implementation of state and federal legal protections for green sea turtles (*chelonia mydas*) by 1978. In tracing this history, I also discussed the ambiguities inherent to the enforcement of sea turtle protection involving so-called low-impact violations such as touching and crowding sea turtles, and especially associated with the rise of sea turtle tourism. I then argued how eco-tourism is usefully understood as a phenomenon emerging in parallel with a global shift towards neoliberal environmentalism, involving a shift from public funding to private, citizen-consumer funding for conservation efforts, transforming the charismatic style of wildlife and nature representations circulating in the mass media. I then examined this in relation to the local context in Hawai‘i, situating sea turtle eco-tourism and volunteer-based conservation efforts in relation to the Hawai‘i tourism authorities objectivities to promote Hawai‘i as a prime nature-based tourism destination. Finally, I suggested that volunteer-based conservation efforts at Laniākea Beach can be understood as the outer-growth edges where state based conservation efforts leave off due to ambiguities around enforcement of eco-tourism and a lack of reliable state funding for conducting such sea turtle outreach operations on Hawai‘i’s beaches.

In chapter 3, I provided an overview and rationale for the methodological choices of this dissertation, further explaining the analytic perspectives, the research site and participants, transcription conventions and representation of discursive data, and my positionality and reflexivity as a researcher.

As the first chapter analyzing empirical data, in chapter 4, I examine how sea turtle tourism discourse circulates a dominant Western environmental discourse of *spectacular nature* across three circuits of semiotic-material mediation: 1) mediatization if this discourse in tourism advertising, 2) embodied mediation of this discourse in situated interaction at the beach, 3) remediation of these interactions through social media platforms online. In tracing this circulation of a discourse of spectacular sea turtles across these three circuits of virtual, embodied and material mediation, I aimed to unpack the interdiscursive dialogicality this discourse undergoes as it travels through these circuits, rubbing up against, and creating friction with other discursive trajectories travelling through the same space as well. My broader aim in this chapter was to investigate how environmental discourses like this sea turtle tourism discourse of spectacle are less like cohesive, unchanging wholes, and more like rhizomatic assemblages that become entangled with other discursive trajectories – such as a discourse of sea turtle conservation – operating in the same space, materials and interactions as they travel. These discourses emerge from these entanglements as surprising, syncretic and often contradictory *dialogues* of many interests, desires, and knowledges about sea turtles.

In chapter 5, I analyzed how honu guardians learn and use a discourse genre of sea turtle outreach to carry out their protective and education goals around sea turtles at the beach. I showed how this discourse is circulated and enregistered through the materials and official discourses of this genre at the beach. I then examine how volunteers *attune* this discourse genre in situated practice as they mobilize a variety of semiotic and material resources at the beach (discourse in place) to carry out their communicative goals in ever-changing interactional situations (interaction order) at the beach. The analysis foregrounded the tension between institutional efforts to enregister genre conventions of sea turtle interpretation among a shifting and transient group of volunteers, and the creative innovation volunteers develop to transform mobilize this genre to suit the contingences they encounter in practice. I argued that this

discourse genre is an important *technology of talk* at the beach as it becomes a reflexive object of metadiscursive discussion and debate open to continued revision, and around which volunteers are able to imagine their identity as members of this larger volunteer organization.

In the final analysis chapter 6, I engaged most directly with a posthumanist approach to the production of interculturality in human-sea turtle interaction, examining how intercultural identities and communities at the beach produced through epistemic and affective stance-taking towards sea turtles. In examining the stances people take towards sea turtles, as *matters of concerns* for volunteers and tourists at the beach, as they watch and talk about them at the beach, I showed how stances do not only construct the identities of sea turtles, but how the identities people attribute to sea turtles are in turn mobilized to distinguish and clarify intercultural identities between volunteers and tourists at the beach. I argued that this approach offers insight into how divergent understandings, cultural attunements and emotional attachments to sea turtles, not by assuming cultural differences as the source of these divergent perspectives on sea turtles, but instead by investigating the human and nonhuman entities people assemble through stance-taking, and *what kinds of* attachments these stances enable them to make with sea turtles. The importance of investigating stance-taking towards sea turtles at Laniākea Beach, I argued, helps shed light on human interaction with charismatic species like sea turtles as sites not so much of intercultural clash, but of intercultural production.

7.3 Implications of the dissertation and future directions for research

This dissertation provides a contribution to three key areas that inform this research: the sociolinguistics of circulation, intercultural communication in human-animal relations, language research on wildlife conservation and tourism settings. Critical sociolinguistic studies of intercultural communication in a globalizing era involving the increased mobility of objects, ideas, people, practices, and discourses have examined face-to-face interaction as an important site where intercultural identities and communities are not merely in contact, but are produced. This work has increasingly engaged with how the body and the material world are key sites of semiotic mediation, and therefore important participants, along with humans, in the production of interculturality. However, the material world in these studies tends to remain the world of

built infrastructure, technology and artificed human objects. The natural world tends to remain a silent and inert stage upon which human, human-made participants perform. Little research seriously raises the question of how the nonhuman world participates in the co-production of social relations, social practices and society. The present analysis suggests that nature, and wildlife in particular, are important participants in co-constituting human social practices. As I examined in chapter 6, in particular, charismatic wildlife like sea turtles are key sites through which identities and communities are created, sustained and transformed over time.

7.3.1 Sociolinguistics of circulation

First, this dissertation contributes to a shift in sociolinguistics from a sociolinguistics of flow to a sociolinguistics of circulation . Circulation foregrounds the material basis of discursive movement, asking how embodied, and materially emplaced, and technologically mediated semiotic practices enable discourse to travel, but also transforming it as it must past through the contingent and syncretic spaces of these material circuits. In chapter 4, the analysis aimed to shed light on these itineraries of discourse, asking how discourse does not float around spontaneously, but is *made* to travel through the on-going interactional practices people engage in around sea turtles at Laniākea Beach. This suggests the importance of investigating how discourse is able to circulate through processes of rematerialization, relocalization and resemiotization into bodies, objects and places. Recognizing how discourse is continually reentexualized in ever new moments of activity, and the changes it undergoes in the process, makes clear the importance of historical and ethnographic analysis for unpacking the local practices through which pressing socio-environmental issues from wildlife conservation to climate change are produced.

7.3.2 Intercultural communication in human-animal relations

This points to further issues concerning the local sociocultural complexities through which wildlife discourses are enacted in everyday practice. Ecolinguistics (Stibbe, 2015) is an emerging area of research most directly concerned with critical analysis of environmental and animal discourses. This research has made important contributions to our understanding of the

dominant environmental discourses shaping public debate on environmental and ethical crises ranging from industrial animal agricultural and species extinction to exctractivist capitalism and climate change. One concern, however, is that there is still not a clear explanation of how these dominant environmental discourses actually shape human action at the micro-level of situated practice in the material world. As Steffensen & Fill (2014) have argued, "the mainstream ecolinguistic view has never escaped from a residual Cartesianism" (p. 396) that posits a fundamental divide between culture (mind) and nature (matter). Related to this residual Cartesianism is a 'Saussurean arbitrariness' that severs linguistic representation from materiality, further exacerbating the divide between language and action. What is needed instead, according to Steffensen (2018), is to *naturalize* language in order to show that "language is, not just *about* nature, but *of* nature" (396). From this argumentation he proposes the Extended Ecology Hypothesis (EEH) to account for how language "is grounded in the bio-ecology of the planet" (p. 401).

The approach taken in this dissertation builds on these important concerns with the discourse-action link, but suggests an alternative approach to the EEH model which seems to lead to problematic biological/naturalistic metaphors for linking language and culture to the material world. Instead, this dissertation contributes to an alternative tradition to Saussurean structuralism in linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics that draws on the semiotic theory of Charles. S. Peirce (Irvine 1989; Keane 2003; Kohn 2013; Silverstein 2003).[47] Research on human-animal interaction in sociocultural linguistics is a key site where this approach is being developed (e.g. Bucholtz, 2015). This approach emphasizes the semiotic-material grounding of of indexicality which directs focus to the myriad ways meaning becomes materialized, and materiality becomes meaningful along trajectories of discursive, actional, virtual, and embodied transformation (Scollon & Scollon, 2003, 2004). From this perspective, action is a site where multiple discursive trajectories of wildlife converge and connect with other political, economic, social, and ecological discourses. Understanding how the nexus of these discursive trajectories shapes people's everyday environmental actions will involve understanding the interdiscursive

[47] A focus on indexicality also leads to a more expansive and historical view of what counts as discourse, including "such things as the sounds of words, the constraints of speech genres, the perishability of books, the replicable shapes of money, the meatiness of animals, the feel of cloth, the shape of houses, musical tones, the fleshiness of human bodies, and the habits of physical gestures" (Keane, 2007:5-6).

connections among multiple discourses and practices that produce more enduring human-wildlife relations, but also transform them too.

This broadly defined *dialogic approach* to environmental discourse also has important implications for broader theories of environmental communication seeking to better understand the discourse-action link. an underlying issue here is how we understand the link between discursive representations of sea turtles, and how these representations and discourses come to influence the behaviors people actually engage in with sea turtles. The traditional way researchers in environmental communication have viewed the relationship is based on an underlying assumption that positive environmental discourses lead, or should lead, rather unproblematically to some kind of desired behavioral outcome towards the environment. The dominant models of environmental education, for example, builds on what Jones (2008) refers to as the Knowledge->Attitude->Behavior (KAB) model that posits a linear relationship between discourse and action. Environmental Discourse is seen as knowledge, and the knowledge we have about animals and the environment is assumed to shape environmental attitudes, which in turn determine our myriad divergent behaviors towards animals and nature.

However, more recent research in the field of ecolinguistics is questioning this one-to-one relationship between environmental discourse and action. In particular this work raises critical questions about the underlying assumptions that link discourse and action in direct and unproblematic ways. A main reason for these questions comes from a growing recognition among conservationists that the environmental movement's efforts to communicate the severity of ecological catastrophes, from species extinction to climate change, are failing. Linked with this questioning has been a move away from models of environmental behavior focusing on individual knowledge and decision making, and towards explanations that focus on the social, cultural, interactional and local circumstance in which people's encounters with wildlife and nature actually take place. This dissertation contributes to this effort suggesting ways to interrogate the complex nexus of historical, political, economic, sociocultural, ecological and material trajectories that constitute our multifaceted and often contradictory actions with charismatic endangered wildlife like sea turtles. Recognizing that the links between environmental discourse and environmental actions are not direct and unproblematic but

entangled with numerous other discourses and practices, this dissertation suggests ways to bring these webs of discourses and practices our actions are caught up in up to the surface, to render them more explicit topics of democratic discussion and debate within communities grappling with how to improve problematic human-wildlife relations. Sovereignty

7.3.3 Human-wildlife relations in the Anthropocene

Finally, the ethnographic sociolinguistic analysis of sea turtle tourism and conservation practices at Laniākea Beach also contributes to research grappling with how global knowledge of wildlife conservation and tourism are enacted at the local level. Much of this work is coalescing under the umbrella term of posthumanism, especially after the concept of the Anthropocene has increasingly shaped debates about human-environment relations in the past decade. The concept of the Anthropocene is reigniting fundamental questions about the categorical boundaries we draw between humans and nonhumans, and society and nature (Latour 2004). If anthropogenic climate change renders natural disasters increasingly 'unnatural,' if human-generated radioactive isotopes are found in every living thing on earth, and if protected wilderness areas from the Serengeti to Yellowstone depend on intense levels of human intervention to be kept 'wild,' then the lines we draw between human and nonhuman worlds are problematic at best. Instead, posthumanist thinking about human relations with nature argues for the need to abandon notions of human exceptionalism that underlie much of the environmental discourses shaping popular debate, tending to argue for either human mastery over nature or human retreat from nature in order to save it, and instead attune ourselves to the multiplicity of natureculture *assemblages* shaping the well-being, or degradation of people, animals and places.

This dissertation has sought to bring the natural world more starkly into sociolinguistic and applied linguistic research to ask how language mediates our interactions with the natural environment as much as the built environment and how our semiotic practices become caught up with animals and the natural world in dynamic and ethically problematic ways. I have argued that human interactions with animals offer one important site for applied linguists to empirically investigate the semiotic practices organizing human-environment relations emerging in a time when humans are testing the livable boundaries of ecological disturbance on Earth. This opens

up new possibilities for meaningful engagements between applied linguistics and research in the social and natural sciences seeking to address the socio-ecological entanglement of environmental crises from climate change to species extinction. Related to this broader question, the approach this dissertation seeks to address is: how do people become caught up in the lives of animals through their embodied semiotic practices, and what kinds of ethical or unethical human-animal relationships are being forged as a result? This question stems in part from calls in ecolinguistics discussed above to develop a better understanding of the causal links between the environmental discourses that circulate in society and how these discourses come to shape the environmental actions people actually take with animals and the natural world (Steffensen 2018). With a better foundation in this link, the aim is to not just critique negative ecological discourses, but to effectively circulate 'positive' eco-discourses that might encourage individuals and institutions to take more ethical and sustainable actions towards animals and the natural world (Stibbe, 2015, 2018).

In contributing to this discussion about the entanglements of humans with nature in the Anthropocene, this dissertation pointed to the important role that language plays in shaping these natureculture entanglements. In raising the question of how we become caught up in the lives of sea turtles through our semiotic practices, I outlined a notion of language and discourse, not as separate from the material world, but as thoroughly entangled with the material and natural world. The analysis helps clarify how intercultural relations also involve interspecies relations. I have suggested that nexus analysis provides analysts in sociolinguistics, but also social researchers examining human-animal relations more broadly, with an integrative, flexible, interdisciplinary and open-ended methodology to help navigate the dynamic and complex networkings of human and nonhuman bodies, objects, discourses, practices and places shaping wildlife tourism and conservation settings around the world. This is because, by taking our actions with animals and nature as the starting point for analysis, rather than discourse or language, it leaves open what heterogenous resources might mediate our actions, leaving it up to ethnography to find out what these resources might be, and what analytic tools might be needed to unpack them.

The focus that nexus analysis gives to action shares concerns with emerging posthumanist research on human-wildlife and human-environment relations asking how human and nonhuman identity is co-constituted in social activity through various forms of co-translation. As Satsuka (2015) writes, "[t]ranslation of nature concerns what counts as human, what kind of society is envisioned, and who is included in the society as a legitimate subject" (p. 1-2). The concept of translation is helpful in understanding problematic human-wildlife relations like those at Laniākea Beach because it brings focus to how human-sea turtle encouters are important spaces "in which learning another culture both bridges and maintains difference" (Tsing, 2015, p. 112). By taking a slightly less human-focused approach and expanding the circumference of analysis to consider more seriously how nonhuman animals and nature interpellate human social practices, this dissertation seeks to contribute to posthumanist perpsectives rethinking environmental stewardship as a relational achievement spun together in co-agentive, and rhizomatic *natureculture assemblages* (Kohn, 2013; Lorimer 2015; Ogden 2011; Satsuka; 2015; Tsing, 2015; Van Dooren, 2014).

Thinking with assemblages suggests that people's ethical attunements to wildlife and nature are made possible not through rational and individualist decision-making processes, but through their imbrication in a gathering of semiotic and material trajectories carried by the semiotic landscape, embodied interaction, digital remediation, discursive genres of protection and outreach, affective and epistemice stance-taking, and the discourses submerged in the lively human and animal bodies that circulate through these spaces as I explored in this dissertation. Enlisting the affordances theses assemblages provide enable people to know, value and interact with sea turtles and nature in both collaborative and conflicting ways. But these assemblages also have socioecological inertia, with aspects of them that seek to control action, but also evade conscious and strategic manipulation. The implication of this is that nature in the Anthropocene is not a fixed and stable realm, cleanly divided off from culture or politics. Rather, humans, animals, materials, discourses, practices and places are deeply entangled in an array of biopolitical assemblages (Lorimer, 2015). Gaining insight into these complex and shifting natureculture entanglements suggests the continued importance of ethnographic sociolinguistic methods such as those mobilized in this dissertation in order to attune to the historically

contingent, socioculturally specific and interactionally situated ways these assemblages are actually produced, maintained and transformed in practice.

Another way to say this is that the natural sciences are important for understanding how sea turtles are entangled with wider ecosystems, how they evolved, how they experience their world and their relationships to specific places: conservation science is important to understand species like sea turtles as intergenerational 'achievements' that weave together vast stretches of time, genetic trajectories and ecologies. But the social sciences, and in particular the discourse analytic approach I take in this dissertation can help shed light on the human temporalities that intersect with these species too, such as the Native Hawaiian practices of marine resource management that have influenced sea turtle nesting and foraging patterns in in the Hawaiian Islands in ways 'the best available science' has yet to fully recognize. In addition, this work also contributes an understanding of the multispecies entanglements that produce Laniākea Beach, and other beaches where humans and sea turtles encounter one another as 'multispecies storied-places' (van Dooren 2014). This is more than a call for addressing the 'human dimensions' of sea turtle conservation that we, as a global species or 'Anthropos' must grapple with in recognizing the scale of human impact on the planet, although much of this dissertation is filled with the stories and actions of humans that frequent this beach. Rather, as Heise (2016) argues, this about asking "who the "we" is and what ideas about desirable and undesirable species interactions, as well as about intended and unintended consequences, inspire different communities of "us" (p. 199). In other words, the question here is about the ethical obligations that open up when we are sensitive to local place-making practices of sea turtles and people, practices that inevitably will not look the same everywhere and which may embody different values for what ethical human-sea turtle relations should look like. Asking this question is not politically neutral but poses some serious challenges for what models of conservation governance might open up across different contexts, a question beyond the scope of this dissertation, but which my flagging it here signals the importance of addressing this in future research.

In addition, in chapter 2, I briefly discussed sea turtle conservation and tourism practices in relation to the two issues of climate change and Native Hawaiian conservation sovereignty. It

is important to recognize that these two issues will increasingly animate the core questions of green sea turtle conservation and ecotourism futures in Hawai‘i. These questions include: what rights do local communities and native peoples have to demand that their ecological knowledge and expertise, and their local practices of resource governance be acknowledged and incorporated into wildlife conservation policy and management? And when these knowledges and practices are incorporated, what do we make of it when state conservation practices and international organizations then claim to speak for Hawaiian values? In this regard, as Goldberg-Hiller & Silva (2011) caution, "[t]oday, Hawaiian values are extolled when compatible with ecological policies, a shift in the shapes of governance that still falls far short of recognizing indigenous sovereignty and allowing Hawaiian meanings to infuse the Hawaiian values that the state interprets and then claims to uphold" (p. 444). However, emerging research on Hawaiian biocultural resource management systems is mobilizing Hawaiian ecological knowledge in dynamic ways to chart ecoculturally-sustaining futures in Hawai‘i, and will be crucial to navigating and helping to flourish human-sea turtle ecological interdependence amidst socio-environmental uncertainty in the coming decades (Winter et al. 2018). Furthermore, critical indigenous scholarship on socio-ecological connections provides important guidance here on how local and indigenous communities' are weaving past, present and future ecocultural threads together to imagine and create valued wildlife conservation futures at the political-social-cultural-natural nexus (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua 2015; Kuwada 2015; Salesa 2017; Todd 2014).

Finally, and more broadly, the central importance of language as a mediating factor in human-wildlife assemblages suggests fruitful avenues of research for practice-based sociolingusitics and applied linguists to intervene in academic, public and policy discussions, as social science perspectives become increasingly recognized as integral to conservation practices and polices (e.g. Bennett et al. 2016). In addition, applied and sociolinguistic approaches will be increasingly relevant to understanding the local dynamics of ecotourism and conservation as the Anthropocene increasingly cuts across disciplinary boundaries as a keyword for debate about environmental futures (Castree, 2014). The development of an *ecologically engaged* sociolinguistics and applied linguistics (Appleby & Pennycook, 2017) might find critical footing in these debates to interrogate and shed light on the discourses and practices shaping our multispecies interactions with green sea turtles, as well as the vast world of other nonhuman

beings that we are entangled with in webs of ecological interdependence and mutual uncertainty (Kohn 2014).

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Office of Research Compliance
Human Studies Program

UNIVERSITY of HAWAI'I® MĀNOA

February 26, 2016

TO: Gavin Lamb
Christina Higgins, Ph.D.
Principal Investigators
Second Language Studies

FROM: Denise A. Lin-DeShetler, MPH, MA
Director

SUBJECT: CHS #23742 - "Multilingual Interaction and Wildlife Conservation at Laniakea Beach"

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On February 25, 2016, the University of Hawai'i (UH) Human Studies Program approved this study as exempt from federal regulations pertaining to the protection of human research participants. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.101(b) (Category 2).

Exempt studies are subject to the ethical principles articulated in The Belmont Report, found at http://www.hawaii.edu/irb/html/manual/appendices/A/belmont.html

Exempt studies do not require regular continuing review by the Human Studies Program. However, if you propose to modify your study, you must receive approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. You can submit your proposed changes via email at uhirb@hawaii.edu. (The subject line should read: Exempt Study Modification.) The Human Studies Program may review the exempt status at that time and request an application for approval as non-exempt research.

In order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, we encourage you to destroy private information which can be linked to the identities of individuals as soon as it is reasonable to do so. Signed consent forms, as applicable to your study, should be maintained for at least the duration of your project.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program at 956-5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu. We wish you success in carrying out your research project.

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